

The relevance of Culture and Personality Studies, National Character Studies, Cultural Determinism and Cultural Diffusion in Twenty-first Century Anthropology: As assessment of their compatibility with Symbiotic models of Socio-cultural change

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Sujay Rao Mandavilli

Abstract

This paper re-examines the core tenets of our “Proactive-interactive-symbiotic approach to long-term cultural change”, also known as the “Symbiotic School of socio-cultural change”, against the backdrop of eminent pre-existing schools of thought such as the Culture and Personality School, Cultural Determinism, Cultural Relativism, and diffusionist schools such as the British School, the German School and the American School, and other ethnographic methods and techniques to revalidate their pliability and pertinence in diverse situations. This apparently macroscopic approach is also interfaced with existing theories on personality and character and with our concepts of Mind-orientation and Mindspace as well. This will lead to a strengthening and revivification of all the concepts enshrined in these schools of thought, albeit in a modified form to suit the needs of the changed circumstances of the Twenty-first century, without in any way undermining their core postulates. Our underlying tenor of activism and long-term perspective is carried forward to this paper as well, as are also all the concepts of the philosophy of “Neo-centrism”. We also briefly touch upon the efficacy of cultural symbiosis and osmosis in promoting socio-cultural integration both across and within cultures, and discuss the concepts of mind-orientation, mindspace and thought-worlds threadbare, and take them to their logical conclusion. We also argue that Symbiotic approaches to socio-cultural changes are the only way forward in the Twenty-first century. We also like to strike a cautionary note here: Internally-induced changes and Cultural area-specific changes will play a critical role in all future change scenarios, and it would be necessary to understand the role played by different change agents, and their relative importance in all futuristic models. We conclude by discussing the potential real-world applications of Symbiotic Models of socio-cultural change.

Introduction and objective of this paper

An introduction to the Symbiotic school of socio-cultural change along with its fundamental postulates was presented in our paper “Articulating comprehensive frameworks on socio-cultural change: Perceptions of social and cultural change in contemporary Twenty-first century Anthropology from a ‘Neo-centrist’ perspective”.¹ This paper argued that the focus would gradually shift away from Contact-driven scenarios to non contact-driven scenarios of Socio-cultural change. At the same time, internally-induced change and contact-driven scenarios would also continue to exist into the foreseeable future, and play their own unique roles in influencing socio-cultural change. This objective of this paper is to examine the validity of different schools of thought such as the ‘Culture and Personality’ school, the ‘National Character’ school, and various diffusionist schools which had a wide following in the early part of the Twentieth Century in the changed circumstances of the post-globalized Twenty-first century. We do this by reviewing all the key literature that was ever produced on the subject. In this paper, we also take the concepts of Mind-orientation, Mindspace, Thought-worlds, and Societal orientations to their logical conclusion, and furnish a well-knit framework for the Cultural Anthropologist.

Culture is one of the most commonly discussed topics under the sun, and also often the most widely misunderstood. This is perhaps why there are many different definitions of culture (A count placed the total number of definitions at over three hundred) but the most important definitions of culture and the most oft-cited are reproduced below. These definitions are chosen to bring out the essence of the term ‘culture’:

EB Tylor in his book “Primitive Culture (1871) stated, “Culture, in its broadest ethnographic sense is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, laws, customs and any capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society.” According to a definition provided by the German sociologist Georg Simmel, “Culture is the cultivation of the individual through the agency of external forms which have been objectified in the course of history,” According to Bronislaw Malinowski, “Culture is an instrumental reality and apparatus for the satisfaction of biological and derived need. It is the integral whole consisting of implements in consumer goods, of constitutional characters of the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs.” (Malinowski, 1944:1) According to Melville J. Herskovitz, “Culture is the man made part of the environment. It therefore includes material objects of human manufacture, techniques, social orientations, points of view and sanctioned ends that are the immediate conditioning factors underlying behaviour.” (Herskovitz, 1948:17) According to Marvin Harris, “A culture is the total socially acquired life-way or life-style of a group of people. It consists of the patterned, repetitive ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are characteristic of the members of a particular society or segment of society. (Harris 1975:144) E.A. Hoebel provides the following definition, “Culture is the integrated system of learned behaviour patterns which are characteristic of the members of the society, and which are not a result of biological inheritance.” (Hoebel 1966) According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn, “Culture consists of patterns, explicit

¹ Articulating comprehensive frameworks on socio-cultural change: Perceptions of social and cultural change in contemporary Twenty-first century Anthropology from a ‘Neo-centrist’ perspective” SR Mandavilli, ELK Asia Pacific Journal of Social Sciences, 2017

and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinct achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts.” (Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952).^{2 3 4 5 6}

The following attributes of culture logically emanate from these definitions:

Culture is socially learned

Beliefs and values are often relative, culture-specific and learnt by members of a group through initiation or interaction with other members of the group, or by children through observation, initiation, informal or semi-formal training, assimilation and emulation. Culture therefore often provides people with yardsticks to control their behavior and perceive the world. For example, most Hindus do not like the idea of consuming Beef, given the importance of the Cow in the ancient Indian economy. Contrarily, pigs are considered unclean by Muslims, and its meat is forbidden in the Qu’ran. Another example is language which is usually sub-consciously learnt by members of a cultural group, commonly without any formal training. Learned behavior may also be formally communicated to other members of the group through instruction, reward and punishment. Cultural norms are thus learnt by man as a member of society, and often go unquestioned.

Culture is symbolic

A symbol is something verbal or nonverbal, linguistic or non-linguistic, (Examples being sounds, gestures, objects and images) which stands for something within that culture, and is crucial to cultural representation and learning. Symbolic thought is unique to human culture, and often conveys powerful meaning. According to Leslie White, “Culture is dependent on symbolizing... culture consists of tools, implements, utensils, clothing, ornaments, customs, institutions, beliefs, rituals, games, works of art, language, etc.” (White, 1959) According to G H Mead, society is an exchange of gestures which involves the use of symbols. Thus, the study of culture involves a semiotic function as well. Thus, culture typically involves a mix of symbolic and non-symbolic elements. Anthropologists who have emphasized symbolism in culture have included Clifford Geertz, Claude Levi Strauss and Emile Durkheim. Many aspects of culture such as confirmatory rituals, transformatory rituals and rituals of liminality incorporate a symbolic component too, and many symbols such as the Hindu symbol for “Om” may convey a very powerful meaning to members sharing a culture.

Culture is shared

If just one person in a group acted and thought in a particular way, it would be considered to be a personal characteristic and not symbolic of a culture itself. On the other hand, cultural traits are common to most, if not all members in the group. For example, child marriage is considered to be

² Anthropology 12th Edition Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember, Peter N. Peregrine Pearson Prentice Hall 2007

³ Cultural Anthropology, Barbara Miller, Sixth Edition, PHI Learning Private Limited, 2011

⁴ Cultural Anthropology: Appreciating Cultural Diversity, McGraw Hill Internal Edition, Conrad Phillip Kottak

⁵ Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom, EB Tylor

⁶ Malinowski, B. (1944). *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Others Essays*. Chapel Hill, N. Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press

morally wrong in most Western and even many Oriental societies, but is still common in parts of Africa and India, and legislation to outlaw it has only just begun. Even though traits are generally common to most members of a cultural group, there is always scope for individual variation, and this is accepted by most Anthropologists. These are sometimes referred to as outliers or deviant behavior. If changes are introduced by individuals in a society, they must be sufficiently well-entrenched and irreversible to be considered as examples of cultural change.

Culture is an expression of human nature

Even though culture is non-biological per se, it teaches humans how to express their innate biological proclivities, urges and instincts. For example, culture teaches people when, how and what to eat. It teaches them how to interact with their parents, elders, teachers and children. It also teaches them how to respond to specific situations and react to stimuli such as fright, pain etc.

Culture is all-encompassing

Culture governs almost every aspect of people's lives, including in societies which would be considered to be liberal. It determines and dictates to varying degrees, what people do almost every moment of their lives. This would explain why, for example, why the Americans play baseball and why Indians don't. It would explain why Americans have no qualms or inhibitions in eating pork which the Muslims consider a taboo. It would also serve to explain why some cultures are more innovative, energetic and dynamic, and why some cultures are less innovative and inventive, inward-looking or regressive. Culture therefore, includes all aspects of material culture, technology, arts, music, literature, cuisine, myths, legends, religion etc, and even impinges on aspects such as economic systems.

Culture is integrated and patterned

Cultures are not unstructured sets of customs and beliefs. Cultures are integrated and patterned sets of customs and beliefs. If one aspect of a culture changes, it causes ripple effects in other aspects of culture as well. Cultures are therefore highly structured belief systems, most aspects of which are tightly integrated with one another, even though there may be exceptions.

Culture is instrumental and adaptive

Unlike primates and other animals which rely on instincts and reflexes, or other biological means of adaptation to help them survive and adapt to a limited extent, it is a widely known fact that humans alone possess intellect and the power of reasoning. Culture, and the ability to acquire, transmute and transmit cultural traits is one attribute which has played a key role in the success of humans. Thus, traits are usually designed to ensure the success of a culture. However, there can be exceptions. For example, some tribes of New Guinea consider women to be dangerous and unclean, and best avoided. As such a notion would be largely counter-productive, this would either lead to the demise of the culture, or by itself would need to disappear. This is known as maladaptivity.

Culture is gratifying

Culture is designed to satisfy the biological and social needs of individuals and must be compatible with them. If certain elements of culture do not fulfill the wants or needs of humans, they may be replaced, modified or made redundant in the long-run.

Culture evolves

Culture evolves constantly. This is chiefly due to technological and social factors and the inventive nature of man. This is often cited as one of the major causes for the success of man in comparison to other animals. Human culture has evolved and changed greatly from the Stone Age and the hunter-gatherer stage to the modern industrial age. Various theories have been proposed to identify the rate of cultural change and the degree of inventiveness of man. These include unilinear models, multilinear models, cyclical models, and diffusionist approaches. Cultural change is primarily a process of adaptation similar to Biological Natural Selection.

Culture can be inherited

Culture is usually inherited from elders in a society through a complex process of enculturation. Children usually inherit most aspects of a culture from their parents. However, this is subject to change as people are subject to other influences throughout their lives, such as peer-pressure. Thus, the culture that children transmit to their children is often different from what they receive from their parents. The latter either retains some core elements intact, modifies them considerably, or adds or deletes some elements from the mix. This takes place from generation to generation and invariably and inevitably leads to cultural change. Thus, culture is transmitted both vertically (across generations), and horizontally (within a generation).

Cultures operate as cognitive system

Cultures are often seen as systems of knowledge which are designed to serve the needs to its members. According to Ward Goodenough:

A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members. Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behaviour, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them (32, p. 167).

Culture is shaped by the environment

It is also widely accepted that environment sets constraints on culture. There are different schools of thought in this regard. For example, Cultural ecologists study how humans adapt to social and physical environments. Human adaptation here may refer to either biological or cultural processes that enable a population to survive and reproduce in an environment. Cultural Possibilism is the belief that the environment sets certain constraints or limitations on culture, but culture is otherwise determined by other conditions as well.

Components of Culture

Culture consists of the following elements:

1. Cultural Values: Cultural values determine what is good, proper or appropriate in a given context, and what is not.
2. Cultural Norms: Cultural norms refer to standard patterns of behaviour that are accepted in a society.
3. Cultural Sanctions: These comprise rewards and penalties which are used to enforce norms and punish those who do not comply with norms.
4. Symbols and Language: These carry (often powerful) meanings that can easily be understood by people belonging to the same culture.
5. Cultural Beliefs: These comprise ideas and statements that people of a culture hold to be true.
6. Behavioural patterns: These refer to the way people of a culture behave or carry out their regular or other activities.
7. Cultural traits or attributes: These are the simplest and the smallest units of a particular culture and are sometimes referred to as the building blocks of a culture.
8. Cultural Artefacts: Material objects such as pottery and seals are referred to as Cultural Artefacts.
9. Social Institutions: Institutions promoting political control, legal sanctions or administration are known as solution institutions. Examples of these are the courts, the judiciary etc.

What is Ethnography?

A standard definition of the term Ethnography is:

“The term Ethnography refers to a systematic study of different peoples and cultures. It is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally.”^{7 8 9}

This term has its origins in the Greek term ‘ethos’ which means people or nation. Ethnography encompasses predominantly qualitative studies (even though accompanying quantitative techniques may be utilized), usually carried out from an emic perspective or exploring thought worlds from the inside of the culture. Etic paradigms may however, assist in Ethnographic studies and permit a broader generalization. Key terminologies used in the field of Ethnography include ‘Ethnocentrism’ or the belief in the superiority of one’s own culture (This approach appears to be vindicated from the writings of James Frazer, EB Tylor and others and is also equated with Euro centrism and the Psychic unity of Mankind. The term itself was coined by William Graham Sumner), ‘Cultural Relativism’ (This implies that

⁷ Ethnography John D. Brewer, Oxford University Press, 2000

⁸ What is Ethnography? Methodological, Ontological, and Epistemological Attributes, Tony L. Whitehead, Department of Anthropology University of Maryland

⁹ Ethnography: John D. Brewer Open University Press Philadelphia, 2000

each culture is unique in its own right), 'Cultural Determinism' (The belief that a culture determines a person's emotional makeup or behaviour and is the key determinant in defining a person's worldview; per Leslie A. White, culture is like a matrix which is governed by its own laws of growth and operation). A variant is the 'Theory of technological determinism' states that technology is the biggest determinant of social change, and was sought to be applied in the context of developed economies.

The science of Ethnography has had several stages (which have included Armchair Anthropology, Verandah Anthropology and Fieldwork, and the latter has included Participant Observation techniques, for example). Other techniques such as interviews, surveys and the use of questionnaires are also popular in Ethnography. Early Armchair Anthropologists included Lewis Henry Morgan, Henry Maine, E B Tylor, James Frazer and RR Marett. Some Ethnographic studies were also conducted by Francis Buchanan, W H R Rivers, Charles Seligman and others in India. Modern Ethnography began with Bronislaw Malinowski's study of the Trobriand Islanders and A R Radcliffe Brown's study of the Andamanese tribes, the results of which were published in the early 1920's. These two studies brought the much-vaunted "Participant Observation technique" into the forefront of Ethnographic studies. This approach, though commendable and a vast improvement over arm-chair techniques, has been sometimes associated with the unconscious imposition of a Western worldview and interpretive-bias. Only over the past few years, has a trend towards truly collaborative approaches become discernible with the constitution of multi-cultural teams. Polyphony and multivocality however continue to elude us till date, and the issue may now warrant a grounds-up re-examination to eliminate sub-conscious bias.^{10 11 12}

The following are the foundations upon which the science of Ethnography has been based, and we expect these to be carried forward into the Twenty-first century:

Objectivity: The researcher tries to be as objective as possible, and tries not to let his personal biases and prejudices cloud his vision. This necessitates flexibility and self-correction. Thus, Ethnography involves a continuous learning process, and not rigid interpretation.

Emic perspective: The researcher tries to understand all aspects of a culture from the point of view of the participant. Thus, this approach involves extensive fieldwork to identify what is normal in a given context. Fieldwork is designed to capture a culture in action. It involves a study of a culture in its natural settings, and helps to understand its inner workings without any bias or prejudice. In order to achieve this, an ethnographer may form relationships with his subjects of study within ethical boundaries in order to accomplish a greater empathy and better cross-cultural understanding.

¹⁰ *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An account of native enterprise and adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. Malinowski, B. (1922).*

¹¹ *The Andaman Islanders; a study in social anthropology. A R Radcliffe Brown (1922)*

¹² Hall, E. T. (1976) *Beyond Culture*. New York: Doubleday

Holism: Ethnographers attempt to grapple with the whole gamut of human experience and study aspects such as religion, myths, economic systems etc. It also includes topics such as feminism and subaltern studies.

In-depth studies: In-depth studies as opposed to surface studies are the norm. Ethnography often includes extremely detailed studies such as case studies, longitudinal studies and panel studies, and elaborate fieldwork to boot.

Study across time and space: Cultures are usually studied across time and space, and this usually includes its relationship with other cultures. This is referred to a cross-cultural frame of research and cultural area analysis. A school of thought which is known as Historical Particularism studies the relationship between a culture's past and its present. There is also an interface between Cultural Anthropology and Historiography although the objectives of the two fields of study are prima facie different.

Ethical approach and humanism: Ethical approaches such as informed consent and protection of confidentiality are usually followed during the course of fieldwork. Ethnographic research also usually reflects humanistic values and concerns.

Generalization and theorization: Another key objective of Ethnography is to collect data to promote generalized concepts and generate new theories so that these can be suitably used for the study of other cultures. Thus, ethnography possesses nomothetic properties in addition to epistemological and ontological attributes.

An overview of the various schools of thought in Cultural Anthropology

The oldest school of thought in modern Cultural Anthropology is the Unilinear approach to evolution. Unilineal models of Evolution or related models were proposed by EB Tylor, Lewis Henry Morgan, Montesquieu, Michel de Montaigne, J J Bachofen and McLennan. Stages of Evolution such as hunting and gathering, pastoralism and nomadism, agricultural, and commerce were also proposed by Enlightenment thinkers such as Adam Smith, Adam Fergusson and John Miller. Marx's concepts of Primitive Communism, Savagery, Barbarism, Capitalism and Communism were also greatly influenced by the writings of Lewis Henry Morgan. August Comte, who is better known for his philosophy of positivism, spoke about the Theological Stage, the Metaphysical Stage, and the Age of Reason, the last of which would see an increase in scientific output and endeavour and a decline in religion and warfare. Christian Jorgensen Thomsen developed the Three-age system consisting of the Stone Age, the Copper and the Iron Age. Lubbock spoke about the Age of the Drift, when man shared space with Mammoths, the later or the polished Stone age, the Copper age, the Bronze age and the Iron Age. According to J G Frazer, society passed through the magical stage, religious stage and the scientific stage. According to Robert Redfield who is known for his folk-urban continuum studies, society transitioned from folk society to urban society. Marquis de Condorcet believed that human society passed through ten distinct stages, each leading to its betterment and perfecting the human race. Unilinear Evolution was also supported by in some form by Hobhouse, C H Simon, Levi-Bruhl and William Graham Sumner. This approach was somewhat euphemistically referred to as the 'Psychic Unity of Mankind' or Culture with a

capital C, (Ingold) and lent credence to monist movements. Nonetheless, this approach appears to have been tainted with Euro centrism and racism and was used to justify colonialism and oppression. It assumed that Western values were superior and would replace value systems in other parts of the world.

Despite many criticisms of Euro centrism, early Anthropologists made many seminal contributions to the study of other cultures. Eighteenth and Nineteenth century Anthropology was pre-occupied with the study of "Primitive" cultures. This was based on Montaigne's observation that cultures in distant, far-off lands were different from those in Europe. E E Evans Prichard also emphasized that social anthropology should encompass the study of all cultures with particular emphasis on "Primitive" cultures. In later years, John Beattie, Thomas Hylland Eriksen and others continued to advocate the importance of study of other cultures, particularly minor and non-industrial ones. A. R. Radcliffe Brown, for example, studied the indigenous tribes of Andaman and Nicobar Islands in India, while Bronislaw Malinowski studied the Trobriand Islanders of Melanisia. Franz Boas undertook an expedition to British Columbia while A C Haddon and W H R Rivers undertook the Torres Straits expedition. Henri Maine and Charles Seligman worked in India while E E Evans Pritchard studied the Nuer tribes and Lewis Henri Morgan studied the Iroquois tribe. In spite of this, the interest in exotic cultures appeared to have waned after the end of colonialism, as such places were no longer readily accessible.

Neo-evolution was introduced by Julian Steward and Leslie A White. According to Leslie A White, the energy harnessed by individuals was the correct measure to assess human evolution. Marshall Sahlins and Elman Service distinguished between General Evolution and Specific Evolution, and this approach gave allowance for culture-specific sequences and patterns of evolution. According to Julian Steward, techno-economic component of culture was more generic when compared to peripheral culture which was context-specific. Peter Peregrine also analyzed the long-term growth and development of cultures and developed a Cultural Complexity index that was later used by George Peter Murdock.

Another school of thought is the Cyclical theory of change which was proposed by Oswald Spengler and Arnold J. Toynbee. According to them, civilizations rise, decline and fall over a period in time and have a predetermined life cycle, namely birth, growth, maturity and decline. In some cases, societies may rise again under a favourable set of circumstances. P.A. Sorokin proposed the 'Pendular theory of social change' which was a variant of the Cyclical theory. According to this theory, the course of history was continuous, though irregular, fluctuating between the sensate and the ideational.

Conflict theories take into account the principles of dialectics as critical to the understanding of the causes of change. According to A.W Green, "Conflict is the deliberate attempt to oppose, resist or coerce the will of another or others." Georg Simmel believed that there were four types of conflicts, namely, War, Feud or Factional Strife, Litigation, and Conflict of Impersonal ideas. According to this school of thought, every action, belief and interaction tended to generate some kind of a reaction. For example, the oppression of ordinary workers usually generated a class struggle and ultimately led to a revolution. According to the theory of power elites proposed by C. Wright Mills, a small group of people at the top of society known as the power elites tended to manipulate power for their own selfish ends, thereby triggering conflicts with the society at large. According to proponents of the conflict school,

change was rarely smooth, and typically took place to correct social injustice and inequality. Several theorists other than Karl Marx and Pareto also contributed to the conflict theory. For example, Max Gluckman who founded the Manchester school of thought, focussed on internal and external conflicts, contradictions and inconsistencies in daily life. Other prominent conflict theorists were Walter Bagelot, George Vold, Georg Simmel, Ralf Dahrendorf, Ludwig Gumplowicz and Gustav Ratzenhofer.

Social Darwinism is the theory that Natural Selection and principles such as the 'Survival of the fittest' can be used in social and cultural contexts in addition to Biological evolution. Proponents of Social Darwinism in some form included Herbert Spencer, Thomas Malthus, Francis Galton and Ernst Haeckel, but the term 'Social Darwinism' was itself coined by Joseph Fisher in 1877. The term 'Social Darwinism' has many, often mutually incompatible definitions. However, its 'Social Organism' (1860), Spencer compares society to a living organism and argues that just as living beings evolve through natural selection, societies evolve through analogous processes. This school of thought is considered to be obsolete now, and was used to justify racism and imperialism.

Cultural Materialism is another approach to socio-cultural change, and is based on the writings and theories of Leslie White, Julian Steward and Karl Marx. Marvin Harris and his students developed a general theory after analyzing primitive societies in Africa. According to the basic postulates of this theory, similar technologies applied to similar environments tend to produce similar arrangements of labour in production and distribution and these in turn tend to produce similar kinds of social groupings, which justify and coordinate their activities by means of similar systems of values and beliefs." (Harris, 1968).

Karl Marx also embraced dialectics, but with a twist. For Marx, Materialism was at the root of all endeavours, and he often carried forward this philosophy to a fault, often reinterpreting Hegel's thesis plus antithesis is equal to synthesis in a purely materialist domain. While Descartes, Hegel and others proposed the sequence "I think, therefore I am" (Cogito ergo sum), for Marx, it was the other way around, and according to him, humans came first followed by ideas. According to Karl Marx, contradictions in Capitalistic Society were the cause of socio-cultural change. For example, every society had a materialist component which included material, resources, capital, technology and these were called means of production. The social components of production were called relationships of production. The two together were called modes of production. A framework comprising of institutions is called the superstructure and supports it. A varying pace of change between the material components and non-material components may also trigger social change: "The labour class have nothing to sell but themselves".¹³ According to Marx, there was a contradiction between man and nature in early societies. This led to a need to control nature, and led to the development of new technologies. Some people possessed these technologies, and some did not. This led to the emergence of two classes, the masters and the slaves. This, in turn led to feudalism, and the lords and the vassals. The next stage was the development of capitalism and the emergence of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie. Ultimately,

¹³Descartes, René, *The Philosophical Works of Descartes: Translated by Elizabeth S. Haldane and G.R.T. Ross. Cambridge University Press. 1911*

capitalism would be overthrown by the emergence of popular revolution and this would lead to the establishment of a stateless society.

Culture clearly plays a major role in personality development. This has been observed time and again from various studies. For example, parents interact with a child daily and shape his personality. A child's personality is also formed by a peer-interaction process and one time or recurrent exposure to different themes or situations. A famous school which tried to identify the interrelationship between personality and culture is the 'Culture and Personality' school which comprised a wide gamut of theories. This school evolved as a reaction to Unilinear theories of evolution and diffusionist theories. Leading proponents of this school were Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner and Cora du Bois, and this school of thought was itself kick-started with the theories of Sigmund Freud. Sigmund Freud was a controversial but influential psychoanalyst who proposed bizarre ideas such as that of the "Oedipus complex" where a son developed a sexual attraction towards his mother. Much more importantly, he also developed the Critical Periods Hypothesis where he proposed that most personality traits were developed at a very young age. The theoretical underpinnings of the influences on the environment of Culture were also provided by Montesquieu in his work "The spirit of the laws", where he described the basic sentiment of a culture based on the type of government i.e. Republic, monarchy and despotism. He also spoke about geographical factors, climate and the nature of the soil in shaping culture besides trade and cultural contacts with other cultures.

According to the Culture and Personality school, an individual was shaped by heredity, environment, culture and individual personal experiences. Thus, individuals varied greatly in personality and orientation, and it was highly unlikely that two individuals could ever be the same. Most Anthropologists today believe that the interfaces between Culture and Personality are much more complex, and that individuals can in turn shape culture. This is sometimes referred to as a bi-directional approach.

Ruth Benedict conducted her research on the Zuni tribe of South West America and the Kwaikiutl tribe of the North East coast of North America. Zunis were foragers while the Kwaikiutls were agriculturalists. Zunis were co-operative and non-belligerent while Kwaikiutls were relatively more aggressive. Kwaikiutls were also more ambitious and individualistic than the Zuni. This difference was readily apparent in their child rearing practices, marriage and death ceremonies. Ruth Benedict calls the Zunis "Appolonians" i.e. people characterized by their peace, discipline and kindness. Dionysian cultures on the other hand, are characterized by their arrogance and selfishness.

Margaret Mead also made major contributions to the 'Culture and Personality' school. In her book, 'Coming of age in Samoa', she observed that people in Samoa tended to be much more open than Americans in many respects. Children were taught to be obedient, and facts of birth and death were kept open to children. Pre-marital sex was also found to be common. She then studied the Manus tribe of New Guinea and their child rearing practices which was then published as 'Growing up in Guinea' (1930). She also contrasted the personalities of the Arapesh, Mundugomor and the Tschambuli tribe in 'Sex and temperament in three primitive societies'. The people of the Arapesh tribe, were for example,

submissive. In the Mundugumor tribe, both males and females were aggressive. In the Tschambuli tribe, interestingly, males were submissive, and females aggressive.

Another closely related school is the 'National Character School'. While many consider this school to be outdated in the age of globalization and cultural integration, it has left its indelible mark in Social and Cultural Anthropology. This school attempts to answer questions such as "Why are the Japanese disciplined?" "Why are the Italians carefree?" "Why are Americans individualistic?" and so on.

Ruth Benedict performed a detailed study of the Japanese people in her book "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword". This study introduced the 'Content Analysis method' or the 'Fieldwork at a distance method'. According to her study, the Japanese bestowed full love and attention on children when they were young. This is represented by the Chrysanthemum. However, as children grow older, they are disciplined by their parents. This is represented by the sword.

Another famous study is that of Geoffrey Gore and John Rickman (The people of great Russia: A psychological study (1949)), where the personality and profile of Russians were studied. Margaret Mead also studied the National Character of England and contrasted it with that of the USA when she was working with the Office of the Strategic Services (OSS). Another famous work of hers was 'Keep your powder dry: An Anthropologist looks at America'. This was a personality study of Americans, Japanese and Russians. She observed that personality formed at a young age and tended to be statistically similar across cultures, but diverged due to cultural and environmental factors. Although some have questioned the importance of National Character studies in the age of cultural homogenization and globalization and its role in promoting xenophobia and stereotypes, some Anthropologists like Francis Hsu argue that national character is still an important determinant in shaping leaders and citizens of countries.

This approach also uses Cultural Ecology as a basis for determining cultural traits, and according to Meggers(1971) Cultural Ecology plays a crucial role in shaping culture because humans maintain an adaptive relationship with their environment in order to survive, thrive and flourish. According to Julian Steward, "The central issue in Cultural ecology is to determine whether the adjustments of human societies to their environments require particular modes of behavior or whether they permit latitudes for a certain range of possible behavioural patterns. Cultural ecology pays particular attention to those features which empirical analysis shows to be most closely involved in the utilization of environment in culturally prescribed ways."¹⁴ For example, the Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea practice the 'Kula ring ceremony.' This involves the distribution of shell-disc necklaces and shell armbands in different directions to other islanders in the region. This enhances mutual trust relationships, secures trade, and , disposes surpluses. Potlatch is a feast among some American Indian Groups where foods, blankets, copper pieces and canoes are distributed to other villages to secure an equitable distribution of goods. (Note: Per our approach, Cultural Ecology must be considered, but for the sake of convenience is included in the category of Vertical Factors.)

Abram Kardiner compared compared the Tanala tribe with the Betsileo tribe and observed that the differences in personality could be attributed group ideologies and political and cultural complexity.

¹⁴ Julian H Steward, Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution, University of Illinois Press 1955

Another anthropologist, Cora du Bois conducted Thematic Apperception Tests (TATs) or Rorschach Ink Blot tests on the Alorese of Dutch East Indies. She found them to be suspicious, jealous, and antagonistic towards each other, and often violent. They were slovenly, undisciplined and incompetent, and lacking in goals or direction. This could be attributed to their upbringing and lack of maternal attention. This was primarily due to the fact that mothers often worked, entrusting their toddlers to their grandparents.

According to the Personality Mediation view formulated by Abram Kardiner, Ralph Linton, John W M Whiting and Irwin L Child, culture is split into two parts. The first is the determinants of personality, while the other is the expressions of personality, both of which are interconnected by personality itself. Primary institutions consist of socioeconomic structure and child rearing practices while secondary institutions consist of religion, art, folklore, and other expressive media. In the Whiting and Child version, the environmental determinants of group personality are divided into two parts, the maintenance system which is the institutionalized economy and the socio-political structure and functions for the survival of the group in relation to the external environment, and child training and socialization.

Childrearing practices were also researched by independent teams in India, Russia, Japan, Philippines and the USA. In 1965, Walter Goldschmidt studied cultural and psychological differences among the Hehe, Pokot, Kunt and Sebei groups of Africa. Cora du Bois also developed the concept of Modal personality using a statistical approach. Here, she proposed that despite exceptions, culture usually prefer one or more modal personality types. Robert I. Levy preferred a person-centric approach which attempted to understand how individuals behaved and interacted in their socio-cultural context. This attempt drew heavily from the observations he made during a study in Nepal. John J Honigman studied the childrearing practices of the Kaska tribes, and their bearing on the personality development process.

Another advocate of Culture and Personality is Ralph Linton who spoke about Basic personality, Status personality, Inventors, achieved status, ascribed status etc. According to him, there were three types of culture i.e. real or actual culture, ideal culture or normative culture and cultural constructs or perceived culture. Basic personality was the most basic personality type while social inventors were rare. Status personality or ascribed status were not achieved due to self-effort, but were bestowed by society.

Another concept is that of Group Personality which largely ignores individual variations and studies the personality of a group. Another view, known as a Two-systems view, was developed by Inkeles, Levinson and Melford Spiro. According to this theory, culture and personality (including socio-cultural institutions) interact with each other and balance each other. Each of the two has interdependent parts and requirements for its maintenance. A certain degree of stability is reached when individuals are able to satisfy their psychological needs and their socio-cultural expectations at the same time.^{15 16}

Edward Sapir, a student of Franz Boas, was also interested in the relationship between language, personality and culture. He and his student Benjamin Whorf developed a theory starting from the late 1920's which came to be very famously known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The roots of this theory

¹⁵ Culture, Behavior and Personality, Robert A Levine 1982

¹⁶ Patterns of Culture, Ruth Benedict, 1934 Boston, Houghton Mifflin.

however lay in the works of Johann Gottfried von Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt in the Eighteenth Century. According to this theory, language can shape the world-views of people and grasp multiple concepts including different shades of meaning. Thus, this theory constitutes a form of linguistic determinism, but weaker versions may be construed as linguistic relativism. An extension of this proposed that language shaped the cultural world view as well. There is some valid criticism of this view, given the validity of abstractions in shaping world-views, and the easy translatability of thoughts from one language to the other. Words and concepts can also be borrowed easily from one language to another.^{17 18 19}

Diffusion

According to the Theory of Diffusion, cultural traits spread from 'Cultural areas', 'Cultural cradles' or 'cultural circles'. Diffusionists generally rejected Unilinear theories of evolution and studied the spread of cultural traits from cultural areas cradles or circles.

There have been three major schools of diffusionist thought, namely the British diffusionist school, the German diffusionist school and the American diffusionist school.

The British school was represented by Grafton Elliot Smith, WJ Perry and WHR Rivers and proposed that all innovations radiated from Egypt starting from 4000 BC. This, according to them, was triggered by an accidental crop of barley. This led to domestication, housing, agriculture, religion, trade, and civilization. British diffusionists even suggested that Stonehenge, Japanese Pagodas, Balinese temples, Mayan pyramids and Cambodian temples were influenced by Egypt. This was suggested in books such as 'The Children of the Sun' and 'The Gods and the Men'. W H R Rivers also supported theories of degeneration in which he proposed that Polynesian and Melanesian cultures had been replaced by successive waves of immigrations. This approach however, was heavily criticized, and soon disappeared.

The German diffusionist school was represented by Ratzel, Graebner and Leo Frobenius. This school proposed that traits could be traced from different regions such as Australia, Tasmania, Melanesia and Polynesia. Ratzel traced the similarities the bow and arrow along and the similarities in the cross-section of the bow shaft, the material and fastening of the bow string and the feathering of the arrow of different societies. Based on this he suggested that the bow and arrow of Indonesia and West Asia were related. This study was extended by Leo Frobenius to cover masks, houses, drums, clothing, and shields. Wilhelm Schmidt also proposed four culture circles as Primitive Culture Circle, Primary Culture Circle, Secondary Culture Circle and Tertiary Culture circle, and the Circle of Quality or form and the Circle of Quantity which explored the nature of cultural relationships. The American diffusionist school, on the other hand, proposed that diffusion took place as a result of migration and adaptation. This school studied tribes in North and South America and cattle complexes in East Africa and advanced hypothesis such as the 'Age area Hypothesis'. According to this hypothesis which was introduced long before

¹⁷ Koerner, E. F. Konrad (December 1992). "The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis: A Preliminary History and a Bibliographical Essay". *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*.

¹⁸ Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations* (2nd Ed.), Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

¹⁹ Sapir, Edward. 1958. *Culture, Language and Personality*. Berkeley: University of California Press

radiocarbon dating came into vogue, traits originated at the centre of a cultural area and moved towards the periphery.

There have traditionally been three modes of cultural diffusion. Direct diffusion takes place when two cultures are geographically in close proximity to each other, resulting in different types of direct contacts. An example of direct diffusion is between India and Nepal. Indirect diffusion happens when traits are transmitted from one culture through an intermediary to another culture, without the two cultures being in direct contact. Forced diffusion occurs when one culture subjugates or otherwise dominates another culture and force feeds its culture on the subjugated people.

School of Historical Particularism

The school of Historical Particularism which was led by Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Robert Lowie and Alfred Kroeber proposed that each culture was unique and had to be understood in the light of its own historical background. Each culture was shaped by its geography, climate, and culture, and needed to be assessed based on its own unique history. The school of Historical Particularism rejected Unilinear theories of evolution, at the gross over-simplification that went with it. Some allowance was however made for cultural borrowings. This approach however, ignored functional aspects of society and its future orientation. Furthermore, collecting vast amounts of information about specific societies proved to be difficult, often impossible.

Functionalism

The word 'function' has been derived from the Latin word *fungi* which means to perform or execute. The roots of functionalism can be traced to the times of Aristotle and Plato, as also the concepts of teleology and determinism, extreme versions of which even implied that everything was pre-ordained.

The next stage was the development of positivism by August Comte which spoke about the 'Age of Reason' as opposed to the Theological and Metaphysical ages and highlighted the differences between intuitive and empirical approaches. Another early contributor was Emile Durkheim who spoke about 'Sociological explanations', 'Causal-historical explanations' and the role of various functions in maintaining solidarity. Radcliffe Brown on the other hand, promoted a Structural-functionalist approach and according to him, each unit comprised several functions, and at least a minimal integration of its parts was necessary. This, according to him, would lead to a 'Structural continuity' of society. Bronislaw Malinowski, on the other hand, is considered to be a true functionalist. He analyzed human needs at a biological, social, structural and symbolic levels and also spoke about vital sequences such as hunger, thirst, fright, pain, the desire to breathe, colon pressure, bladder pressure, sex appetite and the acts that led to their satisfaction. He also developed the concept of Vital Sequences and Universal Permanent Vital Sequences which provided satisfaction and cultural responses to impulses and basic needs.

Talcott Parsons, who is called an arch-functionalist, developed the four-component AGIL Model based on his work with Robert F. Bales on leadership in small groups which comprised of adaptation (to the external environment), Goal Attainment, Integration and Latency (which comprised Pattern Maintenance and Tension Management).

In general, the postulates of the Functional School were as below:

1. A society or culture consists of parts such as institutions, groups, associations, organizations etc, which are interconnected, interrelated and interdependent.
2. Each part performs its own function, yet makes its own contribution to the society or culture as a whole.
3. A minimal integration of its parts is necessary for the functioning of society.
4. A change in one part or function has a cascading effect and brings about a change in the other parts.
5. The value of the culture when taken as a whole is always greater than the sum of its parts.

Radcliffe-Brown developed the concept of Social structure, and this is considered to be an important contribution to Social Anthropology. Further contributions were made by Meyer Fortes, Rodney Needham and S F Nadel among others.

There were several criticisms of the functional school which included the fact that it ignored cultural factors, internally and externally induced cultural changes, cultural deviance and culture specific differences. This led to the development of the Neo-Functionalist school by Jeffrey Alexander and Paul Colomy which incorporated greater flexibility and attempted to override the flaws of the functionalist school.

The structural school, on the other hand, was proposed by Claude Levi Strauss and was heavily influenced by the concept of phenomenology which proposed looking at issues from the subject's point of view and the Gestalt school of psychology which proposed that individuals were guided by Cultural patterns of Society. They were also influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure's ideas on language and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Structuralists also try to infer an underlying mental structure and thought patterns from observed social behaviour, irrespective of whether these were formally expressed or not. Other contributors to the theory of social structure were S F Nadel, Edmund Leach, Raymond Firth, Meyer Fortes, George Peter Murdock and Rodney Needham.^{20 21}

Types of Cultural change

The following are the different types of cultural change, and most analyses would differentiate change on the following bases:

Long-term or permanent change versus short-term change

Long-term change may be defined as a permanent change or a near-permanent change, whose impact is felt over the long-term. Such changes usually lead to fundamental changes in a society. Examples of such changes are changes brought about by the adoption of new technologies such as the internet. Short-term changes are however, those changes which last only in the short to medium term. Examples

²⁰ Barnard, A., & Spencer, J. (2002). *Encyclopedia of social and cultural anthropology*. London, England: Routledge.

²¹ Barrett, S. R. (2009). *Anthropology: A student's guide to theory and method* (Second ed.). Toronto: University of Toronto Press

of such changes are short-term changes to immigration policy brought about by political will or diktat, effects of a hurricane or a tornado, or short-term devastation brought about by an earthquake.

Irreversible versus reversible change

Irreversible changes are those changes which cannot be reversed or those changes whose effects cannot be undone easily or painlessly. Many changes that we see around us today are irreversible. For example, the changes brought about to American society by the automobile were profound, and it is highly unlikely that any reversion to the pre-automobile age will ever happen in spite of the harmful effects popularly associated with this technology. This kind of technology can therefore, only be replaced by a superior technology that eliminates the harmful effects associated with the internal combustion engine without sacrificing its benefits.

Directed versus undirected change

Most change is undirected, and the future cannot be predicted with any degree of precision. This is the beauty and the quintessence of human civilization. Who foresaw the industrial revolution, the dawn of the automobile era or the internet age? However, change can be regulated and modulated in a manner that makes it orderly or ensures that it is compatible with the needs of the society. Unplanned or undirected change may also be referred to as free change (Halpin). Changes may also be classified as predictable changes and unpredictable changes depending on their predictability. Directed change and social action require different elements such as the identification of a cause or a problem that needs to be solved, the identification of a change agency, change targets (individuals and institutions may become targets of change efforts), channels or ways through which influence can be transmitted, change strategy or an action plan for change.

Major changes versus minor changes

Major changes are those changes that impact society significantly or substantively. Minor changes typically do not impact society in a major way. Changes may also be classified as core changes or peripheral changes depending on their impact on society. They may also be classified as all-pervasive changes versus non-pervasive changes. Likewise, some changes only effect elites or the privileged few, while some other impact all echelons of a society.

Positive changes versus undesirable or harmful changes

Positive changes are those changes that tend to have a positive impact on society as a whole, or most sections of society. On the other hand, negative changes tend to harm society in some way. Social Darwinism may fail us utterly here. Negative changes do propagate through what we call allure or glitz, thereby triggering the need for activism.

Gradual changes versus non-gradual changes

Another classification of changes is gradual changes versus non-gradual changes. The former are typically slow and peaceable, and may be as a result of technological innovation, economic progress,

social upliftment or increase in efficiency of the utilization of the factors of production. Non-gradual changes may be sudden and abrupt, often caused by disruptions in technology or bloody social revolutions. Non-gradual changes were brought about in the 1920's with the widespread adoption of the automobile, in the 1990's with the dawn of the internet age, and also with the French and Russian revolutions. Changes can also likewise be punctuated, and characterized by periods of rapid change and relative non-change (This is similar to a theory in evolutionary biology proposed by Stephen Jay Gould). There are no specific causes for this, other than the fact that revolutions are relatively less common than other endogenous and exogenous changes. A well-known and a widely-cited example of punctuated change is the French Revolution. Punctuated change was also brought about on many other occasions in human history, example being the end of colonialism in the 1940's and the 1950's in Asia and Africa, the civil rights movement of the 1960's and the end of apartheid in South Africa in the 1990's.

Endogenous changes versus exogenous changes

Endogenous changes refer to those changes that are internally-induced and take place from within a society, often through innovation or revolution. Other types of endogenous changes may however, operate more slowly. Exogenous changes refer to those changes that are externally-induced and the agents of change are typically alien to the culture. Examples of exogenous changes are those which are triggered by a culture's exposure to other cultures.

Contact-driven and Non contact-driven changes

Contact-driven changes are those that are produced by physical contact between two cultures through war, conquest, annexations, incursions, military expeditions etc. Non contact-driven changes can typically occur even without any kind of physical contact, but typically use other enablers or mediums, more often technological. In early civilizations, writing precipitated non contact-driven changes. The invention of the printing press allowed new and revolutionary ideas to spread to far-off lands and eventually brought about wide-ranging changes, both direct and indirect in many societies. In the post-globalized world, change is ubiquitous, pervasive, all-encompassing and is often a way of life. Most changes in today's world belongs to the second category.

Identity formation

The term identity refers to assertions and affirmations like "I am", "you are", "He is" or "they are". Such identities reflect an individual's ambitions and aspirations and yet are never fixed or permanent. They also evolve as a result of an individual's interactions with society. The relationship is usually bidirectional because a society creates individuals and individuals in turn shape them. Thus, an individual's personality is shaped by complex forces which include geography, physical environment, cultural factors and unique personal experiences. A few Anthropologists also believe that biological factors, the definition of which may appear to be ill-defined in the eyes of most, also play a role. These may be ultimately over-ridden by an individual's unique experiences, thus producing a baffling array of permutations and combinations. The process of identity formation is also sometimes referred to as individuation and is the process of development of an individual and his unique individuality, characteristics and patterns.

The issues of self and identity are often used in Symbolic-interactionist theories which were first formulated by Herbert Blumer, G H Mead and C H Cooley and based on earlier work by the American psychologist John Dewey. According to this school of thought, 'self reflects society' or 'society shapes self' and this in turn shapes social behaviour. This school of thought also opines that human behaviour may be best understood in relation to the environment. This may therefore be referred to as a bi-directional approach. Berger and Luckmann have called this relationship a "dialectic operation" (1967). Cooley also introduced the concept of "Looking glass self" (Individual shaped by his views about himself) and through his interactions with Primary and Secondary groups, a concept he defined in 1909. (Mead 1934; Cooley 1902; Blumer 1969) However, society itself is highly differentiated on the basis of social class, gender, ethnicity, age, religion etc. Thus, all other dimensions are capable of impacting a person's identity to varying degrees. According to Hall (1990), cultural identity is formed and redefined continuously as a result of complex and ever-changing patterns of interaction between the aforementioned elements. Thus new patterns of identity are constantly produced. (Barker and Galasinski (2001)). Identity is also shaped by self-perception and an internalization of a culture's attributes and both these factors are subject to constant change producing new paradigms constantly. Others such as Howson (2004) believe that an individual's identity is also shaped by others perceptions of him. (Ceruti (2001)) According to the American Sociologist Manuel Castells (1997), identities provide meanings to individuals themselves and are bi-directionally related to the ethos of a society. The process of identity formation is also inevitably linked with Twenty-first century realities such as globalization and the move towards a homogenized culture and the interweaving of new streams produces altogether new equations.^{22 23 24}

Other interesting theories of Identity formation have included psychological-based theories such as Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development and James Marcia's identity status theory, and a brief overview is provided hereunder, merely to demonstrate the breadth and diversity of overlapping theories available in the field:

According to Erikson's line of reasoning, each person experiences different crises or conflicts throughout their life regardless of their cultural background. Each of the conflicts must be resolved satisfactorily and with some self-determination in order to reach the next stage. The stage impacting identity formation occurs during adolescence, as is called "Identity versus Role Confusion." In the "Identity versus Role Confusion" stage adolescents want to find out who they are so that they can form a basic identity for life. This crisis is resolved with identity achievement which is arrived at after considering various goals and values. They then enter the next stage which is called "Intimacy versus Isolation" where they will form friendships and bonds with others. If the "Identity versus Role Confusion" crisis is not solved, an adolescent will develop a confused identity and lack of role definition which may mar his future prospects considerably.

²² Blumer, Herbert. 1969. *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

²³ Castells, M., 2010. *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Volume 1: The Rise of the Network Society*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

²⁴ Cooley C H, 1909 *Social Organization: Human Nature and Social order*, New York, Charles Scribner's sons

According to the theory provided by James Marcia, adolescents could be classified into one of four statuses of identity such as Identity diffusion or Role Confusion (marked by a presence of identity crisis), Identity foreclosure (marked by unquestioned acceptance of societal norms), Identity Moratorium (deferment of achievement), Identity Achievement (Achievement by solving identity issues). The identity statuses are used to describe an adolescent's identity formation process on various core values such as norms and religion.

Identity formation is crucially and critically impacted by Personality development and the most popular Personality development theories were provided by Sigmund Freud and Erik Ericson. Sigmund Freud proposed different stages in personality development such as the Oral stage, the Anal stage, the Phallic stage, the Latent period, and the Genital stage while Ericson divided the human lifespan into various buckets, proposing, unlike Freud, that Personality development was an ongoing process that continued until late in life. Freud also proposed that the human mind possessed a three-tier system consisting of superego (screening function), ego (mediation function) and id (identity maintenance function). Most psychoanalysts also agree that personality and temperament are determined very early in life, a few even holding that there are significant variations and type categorizations at birth. Most psychoanalysts also hold that personality types can only be changed with some amount of difficulty, while some like Carl Jung even argue that this is unlikely. The determination of personality traits at birth however appears implausible or directly non-observable, but must be proven empirically through suitably-designed indirect techniques if the matter is to be satisfactory or permanently settled.

Others have spoken about Primary socialization and Secondary socialization. In Primary socialization, identity of self is first conceived, usually early in life, and reinforced by Secondary socialization. Secondary socialization starts when a child ventures out into the outside world and begins to interact with it. Thus, education is a part of Secondary socialization, though some consider primary education to be a part of both primary socialization and secondary socialization.

According to Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System theory of Individual and Social Development, an individual is shaped by his own attributes such as sex etc, and his interaction with the environment. The environment includes the Microsystem (Family, peers, school, church), Mesosystem, Exosystem (Industry, neighbours, mass media, local politics, social services) and Macrosystem (Attitudes and ideologies of the culture). These interact in various ways and shape the identity of the individual.

Personality types

The term 'Personality' stems from the Latin word persona which referred to the masks individuals wore when they portrayed characters. Different psychologists have attempted different definitions of the term 'personality'. According to Watson, "Personality is the sum of activities that can be discovered by actual observations over a long period to give reliable information." (Watson, 1930) According to Morton Prince, "Personality is the sum total of all the biological innate dispositions, impulses, tendencies, appetites and instincts of the individual and the disposition and tendencies acquired by experience. (Prince, 1929) According to a more recent definition "Personality is the more or less stable and enduring organization of a person's character, organization , physique, intelligence and temperament which determine his unique adjustment to the environment (Eysenck, 1971) E. A. Hoebel

defined personality as follows lending some credence to the idea that culture shapes personality “The sum of integrated behaviour traits which are analogous to the culture of a society. The bodily constitution, the physical environment and the culture combine to produce the personality structure of an individual. Enculturation encompasses the whole universe of the individual, so that he learns to internalize the norms of that particular culture. The process involves selection as well as elimination of multiple kinds of behaviour that an individual indulges.”²⁵

A personality type refers to the psychological classification of individuals into categories based on qualitative attributes such as extroversion or introversion, empathy, cognitive abilities, rationality and emotional quotient.

Theories on personality can be classified into:

Biological Theories: According to Biological theories, genes determine personality characteristics and traits. One of the most vocal proponents of this school was Hans Eysenck who attempted to link personality with biological processes.

Psychological Theories: Psychological theories emphasize childhood experiences and sub-conscious influences in determining personality types. Psychological theories were advanced by Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung. This is akin to a tabula rasa on which impressions are constantly ingrained and overridden to produce new synergies and meanings.

Behavioral Theories: Behavioral theorists such as B. F. Skinner and John B. Watson suggest that personality is primarily formed as a result of interaction between the individual and the environment. Behavioral theorists play down the role of internal thoughts and feelings in shaping human behavior.

Humanist Theories: Humanist theorists such as Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow emphasize the importance of free will and individual experience including the process of self-actualization in the development of personality.

Trait Theories: According to trait theories, personality comprises several distinct traits which shape human behavior. Examples of trait-based theories include Eysenck's Three-dimension theory and the Five factor theory of personality.

An early form of personality classification was the Four Temperaments system of Galen which was based on the Four Humours Model of Hippocrates (blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm which influenced the human body and its emotions). According to the Four Temperaments System, which is a direct ancestor of modern psychological theories, there are four personality types namely Sanguine (Enthusiastic and Social), Choleric (Short-tempered and irritable), melancholic (analytical, wise and quiet), and phlegmatic (relaxed and peaceful). A more recent variant is the Five Temperaments system which was published in 1958 and was based on the work of William Schutz and his FIRO-B programme.

²⁵ E. A. Hoebel, *Man in the Primitive World: An introduction to Anthropology*, McGraw Hill, New York, 1958

Similar Personality theories were also proposed by Avicenna, Nicholas Culpeper, Immanuel Kant, Rudolf Steiner, Eduard Spranger and others.^{26 27}

According to a classification proposed by German psychotherapist and founder of individual psychology Alfred Adler, the following were the four personality types: Ruling or dominant (High activity, low social interest), Learning type (Low activity, high social interest), Avoidance type (Low activity, Low social interest) and the Socially useful type. People belonging to the last category were vibrant and full of energy. Adler also emphasized the role in inferiority complex and other factors in shaping personality.

The German social psychologist Erich Fromm analyzed personality types on the basis of concepts and learnings in Anthropology, History and Psychology. According to him, every human has a need for orientation, and tries to find a meaning and value in existence. Orientation is achieved either through assimilation (relating to things) or socialization (relating to people). This was also determined by human existentialist needs such as relatedness (submission, power, love), transcendence (overcoming the environment), rootedness (establishing roots), and identity creation, and an interface between the two led to unique human personality. The American psychologist William Moulton Marston on the other hand, identified four primary emotions which were Dominance (Activity in an antagonistic environment), Compliance (Passivity in an antagonistic environment), Inducement (Activity in a favourable environment), Submission (passivity in a favourable environment). Gordon Allport, who was a “trait psychologist”, categorized personality traits on their basis of influence on a person into cardinal traits, central traits and core traits. To do this, he identified and categorized over four thousand five hundred traits. A similar hypothesis is the Fundamental Lexical hypothesis by Goldberg which states that traits most common to a culture will become that culture’s defining traits and cultural determinants. In addition to such models, specialized models are also available, and these include the EAS (Emotionality, activity and sociability) model which is used to assess temperament in children.

The DISC assessment system is a relatively more modern technique developed by W M Marston, Walter Clarke and John G. Geler in 1972 and included scales of Dominance, Influence, Steadiness and Conscientiousness which were then used to model the specifics of personality. According to the relatively better-known Carl Jung’s theory of Psychological types, people could be classified based on a combination of Introversion or Extraversion and Sensation, intuition, thinking or feeling to form a total of eight combinations or orientations. Each human could be categorized into one of the eight types. This approach also emphasized the role of the unconscious in shaping human personality. The HEXACO Model of Personality Structure proposed by Ashton and Lee comprises six factors, or dimensions, which include Honesty-Humility (H), Emotionality (E), Extraversion (X), Agreeableness (A), Conscientiousness (C), and Openness to Experience (O). Each factor in turn is composed of traits and characteristics with accompanying high and low levels of the factor.

The famous Myers-Briggs model is based on Carl Jung’s psychological type and was developed by Katherine Cook Briggs and Isabelle Briggs Myers. According to this model, personality preferences are assessed in four dimensions based on a series of questions:

²⁶ Jung, Carl Gustav (1971). "Psychological Types". Collected Works of C.G. Jung, Princeton University Press

²⁷ Goldberg, L. R. (1992). "The development of markers for the Big-Five factor structure". *Psychological Assessment*. 4: 26

1. Where a person focuses his attention – Extraversion or introversion
2. The way a person takes in information – Sensing or intuition
3. How a person makes decisions – Thinking or feeling
4. How a person deals with the world – Judgment or perception

This provides a total of sixteen common and uncommon combinations, which each combination possessing its own characteristics.

Another widely used mode is the five-factor model or OCEAN Model of personality which was based on research conducted by the US Air Force in the 1940's, consists of Openness to experience, Conscientiousness (Being organised or efficient), Extroversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism. The PEN model proposed by the English psychologist Hans Eysenck, on the other hand, is based on Psychophysiology: There are three superfactors of Psychoticism, Extraversion, and Neuroticism, and several other minor factors such as sociability and positive effect. Another rival approach is provided by the attachment theory which discusses people's relationships with other individuals across a gamut of roles throughout their life cycle.

In spite of the availability of a wide spectrum of theories of personality categorization and formation which we have reviewed above, the relationship between the above categorized personality types and culture or cultural ecology is poorly established and determined, remains a matter of conjecture and is open to debate. We will argue that despite some exceptions and variations in frequency distributions, the above classifications are largely culture-neutral rendering them of rather limited utility and appeal in Culture and Personality studies and to the Social Anthropologist in general. Thus, a broad assertion that different configurations of culture can engender unique personality types and that "Culture is personality writ large" (Ruth Benedict) can now be thrown into very serious doubt (This would be evident even from a superficial analysis of the attributes used in any other approaches above), and the issue is undoubtedly substantially more complex. Two issues are of paramount importance here: are any parameters used in the various definitions here dependent on culture or cultural ecology? Alternatively, are there any characteristics that are not carried over to, or incorporated in our alternative concepts such as mind-orientation? Those who wish to refute our assertions must empirically demonstrate their validity: the onus for this now squarely rests on their shoulders. Likewise, 'National Character' is more likely to be a product of intersecting and rapidly-changing paradigms of base functions such as those proposed in our paper, and the resultant synergies resultantly produced.

Cultural integration

We may invoke some pre-existing definitions and concepts here and merge them with our own interpretations and definitions. Cultural integration which is an oft-repeated term in the age of globalization and a seamless flow of thoughts and ideas, is a kind of cultural exchange where groups adopt the beliefs, ideals and practices of other groups either to a minor degree or significantly without sacrificing the characteristics of its own culture. Globalization, in this case, refers to the diffusion of manufacturing, services, markets, culture, lifestyle, capital, technology and ideas across national boundaries and around the world and the slow integration of diverse economic and social activities due

to the emergence of unprecedented technologies and their spread at an unprecedented rate. In spite of this, Cultural identity cannot normally erase the identity of a culture or replace all aspects of a culture, even though it can considerably dilute them. Each culture will continue to retain its own hallmarks and defining characteristics, and only in a few cases will a total cultural loss be observed. This process may eventually culminate in the emergence of an over-arching global culture in several popular or influential dimensions albeit with regional variations.^{28 29} This process may also result in rationalization of society and culture, and what some researchers have referred to as “McDonaldization”.

Cultural integration may also result in an intermingling of one or more cultures, and major cities across the world have become cultural potpourris and melting pots. Another term for cultural integration is hybridization. Cultural integration also involves assimilation and acculturation. Cultural integration may be categorized into temporal analysis and synchronic analysis, where integration takes place across time and space respectively. It may also be categorized as uni-directional, bi-directional or multi-directional, depending on how many cultures are impacted by change. Thus, a society may comprise of multiple cultures, with an integration taking place only over a protracted span of time.

Cultural homogenization refers to standardization of different components of a culture and the elimination of variation. Homogenization can take place within a culture or across cultures. The process of homogenization appears to have accelerated with the onslaught of globalization which has greatly diminished the role of national governments in defining or enforcing cultural norms. Globalization has also allowed technology to spread to peripheral and often remote regions. Many sociologists have given their views on cultural homogenization. According to Tamar Liebes (Liebes 2003), more and more countries were likely to adopt a Western Euro-American lifestyle as globalization gathered pace, thus encroaching on other norms and values. According to George Ritzer (Ritzer 2010), the barriers working against homogenization would pale into nothingness when compared to the forces promoting it, and this alone would ensure a greater cultural uniformity over time. This would eventually lead to the emergence of a “global culture” (Robertson, 1992) or “world culture” (Meyer, Boli, Thomas and Ramirez, 1997)^{30 31}

Cultural Receptivity determines a culture’s desire for change and progress, and how it views other cultures and components of culture not forming a part of it. Even a culture which is initially not receptive to ideas of an external origin, may undergo changes over a period in time, and may become more receptive to change. Most cultures and societies today are receptive to some degrees, as symbols of science and technology have permeated the globe, as also have cultural icons associated with the world’s more dominant cultures. Conrad Arensberg and Arthur Niehoff describe cultural borrowing as the sharing of ideas and techniques across cultures, though not often in wholly unmodified form. Often, external ideas are thoroughly internalized, even heavily modified if required, and used as the society and its denizens deem fit. These can then be used as tools of cultural, social, economic or technological progress. For example, American Culture, though originally European in origin, has been significantly

²⁸ James, Paul (2006). *Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism*. London: Sage Publications.

²⁹ George Ritzer. *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*. John Wiley & Sons

³⁰ Liebes, T. (2003). *American Dreams, Hebrew Subtitles: Globalization from the Receiving End*. Hampton Press, Cresskill, New Jersey

³¹ Ritzer, G. *The Globalization of Nothing*, Pine Forge Press, Thousand Oaks, 2004

modified for the American geographical, cultural and economic landscape. There are also many other examples from across the world to illustrate this. For example, Germany was the birth place of the motor car in the 1880's. In the 1890's, the first automotive industry took root in France, though with a unique French flavour. In the 1910's, the USA pioneered assembly line production to suit American economic needs. From the 1970's, upstarts and dark horses Japan and later South Korea, became leading automotive players on the international scene, changing the dynamics of the Automobile industry.

Categorization of Cultures

From the point of view of their influence, cultures may be categorized as follows:

1. Dominant or influential cultural systems: Examples of such cultures include the USA. Factors impacting a culture's dominance include its technological superiority, cultural hegemony and soft power, economic influence, military influence, population and population growth.
2. Non-Dominant cultural systems: Examples of such systems include China and India. Even though such cultures may possess desirable traits, their lack of dominance in the international arena due to an absence of hard power or soft power may prevent such traits from spreading.
3. Fringe or Marginal cultural systems: Examples of such systems include Nigeria and Tanzania. Such countries are merely a speck in the international radar, and chances that such cultures can have an impact on the world at large are remote.
4. Closed or Autarchic (Autarkic) cultural systems: Examples of such cultures are North Korea which have practically no cultural or economic connections with the rest of the world. These cultures may also be assessed based on their Degree of Autarchy.

The process of symbiosis between these cultural systems would determine the global socio-cultural landscape.

How to identify cultural boundaries

Cultural boundaries may be defined using any of the yardsticks described below, or a combination of these, and the cultural unit thus identified, would form the basis of any structured study.

1. Linguistic boundary: This is the most common approach to defining a cultural unit, especially where the language in question is a major or a well-known one.
2. Ethnic boundary: In this case, the Ethnic group in question must be fairly well-known, and the encompassed geographical territory may not be analogous to a language.
3. Political boundary: In this case, a political boundary is taken as the basis for convenience.
4. Quasi-political boundary: In this case, the area controlled by tribes, clans, confederates may be taken as the basis of a study.
5. Cultural area: In this case, the presence of common cultural traits that is used to define a cultural area also forms the basis of a cultural unit, though it may be sub-divided for convenience.
6. Religion or religious sect: In this case, a religion or a religious sect is taken as the basis, and is used to demarcate a cultural area.

7. Cultural attributes: In this case, the gradation of cultural traits or attributes is taken as the basis for defining a cultural unit. Thus, sudden variations in a trait or an attribute can be used to mark the end of a cultural unit. E.g. The sudden disappearance of a defining and overriding feature of kinship in a region.
8. Anticipated pace of Cultural change: In another method, Cultural area may be defined on the anticipated pace of Cultural change i.e. Conservative societies versus Non-conservative societies.
9. Cultural artifacts: In this case, artifacts are classified on a typo-technological basis, and then used to determine a cultural area. E.g. The sudden appearance of a category of enamelware in a region.
10. Economic systems: In this case, economic systems such as potlatch or the 'Tola ring system' are used to demarcate cultural areas.

Criteria for identifying cultural boundaries

The following criteria are applied to arrive at a broad definition of a cultural unit.

1. Ease of data collection and administration: The definition arrived at must facilitate easy data collection and administration.
2. Ease of comprehension by administrator: The definition must be logical and devoid of any logical ambiguities or inconsistencies, and must be easily understood by the administrator.
3. Ease of comprehension by third parties: The definition must be easily understood by all third parties including the layman.
4. Manageable size: The cultural units thus arrived at, must be of manageable size i.e. they must be neither too big nor too small.
5. Utility in downstream studies: The definition must serve the needs of downstream users well and must lend itself to different kinds of downstream studies and analyses.

How to define cultural areas

Cultural areas, which are groups of cultural units, must be logically arrived at on some basis such as similarity of cultural traits, and must satisfy all the criteria laid down above. In Cultural Anthropology, a cultural area, also known as a cultural region or cultural sphere, refers to a geographical area with a relatively homogeneous cultural activity or type of cultural activity. One of the critical considerations while defining a cultural area is the ability of cultural units within a proposed cultural area to influence each other to a significant degree as this would lead to the eventual homogenization of traits. Thus, causation is a necessary defining characteristic in addition to co-relation. While defining cultural areas, a bottom-up approach must be adopted. In other words, cultural units must be defined first, followed by cultural areas. In some cases, 'Multiple or differentiated Cultural Areas' may be used. In other words, Cultural Areas may be defined separately for different studies.

Factors (impacting)

The following factors facilitate the outward transmission of cultural traits or attributes from a cultural unit or area:

Technological superiority and Military hegemony

The technological superiority associated with a culture may lead to other cultures wanting to mimic them. For example, it was once famously said that the sun never sets on the British Empire. While this statement was eventually falsified with the collapse of imperialism, cultural icons associated with the British Empire held sway over a wide region long after it declined and passed into the annals of history as a result of their association with superior cultural and technological power, but were ultimately eclipsed by American symbols arising from American technological suzerainty. In the opening decades of the Twentieth century, the USA was associated with the automobile and mass production. It also eventually became associated with the Aeroplane, the computer, and with its intellectual and cultural might. This may have gradually led to other American symbols becoming ubiquitous around the globe common examples being Coca Cola and Pepsi.

Cultural hegemony and soft power

The cultural hegemony and soft power associated with a culture can play a vital role in spread of its cultural and non-cultural icons. For example, France is associated with its wines and haute couture, and Italy with its cuisine. Hollywood spread largely due to American hard and soft power, and Bollywood is making an attempt to capitalize on the unprecedented interest in India abroad.

Economic Influence

America's extraordinary and unparalleled success as an economic power in the early part of the Twentieth century is a case in point. This boosted American cultural exports to a significant degree, often ousting icons associated with rival cultures in the popular public imagination. American cultural exports included comics, cinema, fast food etc., which have become commonplace around the world.

Population and population growth

Population and population growth, taken along with other factors, can play a key role in determining cultural might. This is one reason China, India and even Africa are poised to grow as major influencing systems into the Twenty-first century and beyond, while Britain with its tiny population went into relative decline.

Factors (absorbing)

The following factors facilitate the inward transmission of cultural traits or attributes into a cultural unit or cultural area:

Technological superiority

The technological or technical superiority of an element may allow it to spread rapidly. For example, Automobiles replaced horses throughout the developed world very quickly after they were invented,

rendering the latter obsolete. Likewise, air travel became common throughout the developed world by the 1960's.

Perceived superiority, Allure or glitz

Elements with a higher proportion of allure, glitz or pizzazz may propagate easily. Glitzy advertisements for tobacco-based products or even colas for example impress people and boost tobacco or cola consumption even though they may endanger people's health or offer little or no nutritional value. Another related concept is emulation, where elements associated with a culture which is perceived as being superior tend to be adopted much more readily than superior elements associated with less influential cultures.

Solutions to problems

Elements which provide ready solutions to pressing problems may often be adopted at a faster rate, than those which have only novelty value or glamour or do not solve urgent or pressing problems.

Comparison with substitutes

Elements only satisfy a want or a need. If a better substitute is available at the same or at a lower price, or is more easily accessed, it will seal the deal, and eliminate less competitive solutions from attaining popularity.

Economy

The economy and the value-proposition of an element in relation to its price will play a major role in determining its success and its eventual adaptation.

Utility and practicality

Utility may allow an element of culture to spread. This may explain the widespread use of the mobile phone or the internet, for example in almost every nook and corner of the world. Likewise, Japanese cars became popular in many parts of the world due to their perceived practicality, convenience and ease of use. Context- Suitability is another important attribute that must be borne in mind, and what works in the context of one culture may not work in the context of another culture. In some cases, an element may need to be simplified, and unnecessary aspects or components removed.

Alteration or improvisation during diffusion

Alteration or Improvisation during diffusion to make it for suitable for a given culture can enable an element to spread more easily. Even Ford had to rename its products in some markets, while McDonalds had to rework their menu to make it palatable to specific audiences. Pork is a strict taboo for the Middle East, while their offerings are mostly vegetarian or chicken-based for the Indian market.

Receptivity

Receptivity would depend on a culture's inherent appetite for change and progress, and how it views the external world and cultural elements not intrinsic to it. Even a culture which is initially not ready for change in any form, may undergo a transformational metamorphosis over a period in time, and may become more receptive to change. However, the spread of American icons worldwide and the Americanization of many parts of the world has provoked angry reactions worldwide especially in Islamic countries, and some other Asian countries who fear that local cultural values are being threatened.

The following however, would be the limitations of the process of cultural osmosis and cultural homogenization, and in such cases a hybridized culture comprising of both global and local elements and a continuing amalgamation and unification of cultures but with each individual culture retaining its salient features is likely to be observed. Anthony Smith (1991) for example believes an increase of contacts between cultures does not necessarily lead to an annihilation of all differences across cultures. He believes that there is little prospect of a unified global culture, but a set of interrelated cultures:

- a) Context-suitability of cultural elements and technologies
- b) The economy and affordability of different technologies, propositions or solutions in a given context
- c) Availability of local substitutes or equivalents for a given solution
- d) Political framework of a nation
- e) Legal framework of a nation
- f) Economic constraints in a nation
- g) Lack of awareness of the outside world
- h) Lack of infrastructure as a barrier to cultural osmosis
- i) Non-permeation of technology due to various factors
- j) Innovation as a disruptor (Innovation may spread slowly)
- k) Linguistic factors (i.e. linguistic barriers)
- l) Religious factors acting as a barrier to cultural change
- m) Other ideological factors acting as a barrier to cultural change
- n) Reliance on tradition and its impact on culture and cultural change: Related concepts are those of past-centric and future-centric societies and internal versus external oriented societies
- o) Cultural pride acting as a barrier to cultural change
- p) Cultural bottlenecks i.e. some aspects of a culture are less evolved than others.
- q) Slow generational change (Demographic factors etc) slowing down cultural change

Process of Cultural Symbiosis

The process of Cultural Symbiosis typically takes place as follows. This is a generalized list of steps, and variations can naturally be expected in different scenarios:

- Awareness

The first step is the explicit or tacit acknowledgment or the awareness of the external culture itself or at least one or more aspects of the culture (i.e. the relevant aspects of the culture). An essential pre-requisite for awareness is Channels of Communication which helps ideas diffuse from one region to another. Diffusion can also be categorized into the following common types

in the modern context in addition to a more traditional classification proposed in another part of this paper:

1. Direct contact: An example is the spread of a trait from a culture to neighboring regions and beyond. Such contacts may be continuous or sporadic.
2. Intermediate contacts: This typically takes place through third parties such as traders.
3. Stimulus diffusion: In such a case, the knowledge of a trait is used to develop a local counterpart in another culture.
4. Diffusion without any contact: In this case, diffusion takes place without any contact. This type of diffusion is common in the age of high-technology.

Other types of diffusion such as forced diffusion may not be common in today's world even though they may have limited applicability, and in specific situations, and are as such consciously omitted from the classification.

- Change in popular sentiment as a pre-requisite for cultural change

In many cases, change in popular or traditional sentiment which may comprise exaggerated manifestations of emotionalism or mawkishness, may be a pre-requisite for cultural change. This may not often be based on logic or reasoning, but may be relatively more palpable comprising of intangible components and attributes, and may in many cases defy logic. An example of sentiment dictating the tempo of cultural change may be the acceptance or non-acceptance of a new type of cuisine or the replacement of one type of food by another. This would, in turn be shaped by the Cultural norms, mores and the ethos of a society in addition to broader factors such as personal tastes and dislikes.

- Seeding

The next step is the birthing or the gestation of the idea in an alien context. This may be achieved either rapidly or may be, in some other cases, a relatively long-drawn and protracted process. We refer to these as the 'Modes of Introduction' of Cultural Elements. The possibilities here are:

Push: In this mode, an element is initially imposed from an external source or entity. A typical example is the initial 'imposition' of English on India and other languages during the colonial regime. Push factors may either be hard or soft (i.e. Hard push and Soft push). The former is associated with political and military factors and the latter is predominantly associated with cultural factors.

Pull: In this mode, an element becomes popular because demand exists for it. An example of this is the demand for mobile phones all over the world, including developing regions. Another example for this is the implementation of the English language in Rwanda, and its recent introduction in Gabon.

Push-Pull: This is a combination of Push and Pull modes. In this mode, an element is first introduced by push techniques, and is later willingly adopted by a countries or regions denizens. If this is to work, an element must offer specific benefits to the people or at least a section of society. An example of this is the popular adoption of the English language in India. While English was undoubtedly spread by force in colonial times, the USA has both directly and indirectly played a much greater role in the spread of English since the dawn of the Twentieth century than Britain, and the United States has played a much greater role in shaping the forces of globalization as well. The introduction of the Steam Locomotive in India during the British Raj may be considered to be an example of this type.

Subconscious adoption: A weaker version of the 'Pull mode' may be referred to as 'Subconscious adoption', where changes or innovations are subconsciously adopted, often due to prolonged exposure. It may sometimes be difficult to draw a clear distinction between subconscious adoption and other modes, but a crucial distinction in this case may be the absence, in this case, of a formal mechanisms or an apparatus of adaptation.

- Acceptance

Acceptance may typically be a slow process. According to the theory of Cultural Lag, Culture usually takes time to catch up with technological innovation, In other words, technological changes happen faster than cultural related changes and there is a mismatch between the rate of material progress and non-material progress involving intangible elements. This phenomenon may lead to social conflicts and often bring about cognitive dissonance to varying degrees and various forms of distress or maladjustment. This theory also states that different aspects of culture tend to change at different rates. The term was first used by William F. Ogburn in his work "Social change with respect to culture and original nature" in the year 1922 and revalidated by several other studies.³²

Future researchers may wish to categorize various components of culture or the basis of the pace of adaptation, and draw conclusions and generalizations to the extent practicable. This may be only possible through arduous research and empirical data, and the result may be a rule book with well-documented examples and a list of examples. For example, technological changes may propagate faster than changes associated with cuisine, and changes associated with cuisine may take root or propagate faster than those associated with kinship. Changes associated with kinship may win acceptance faster than those associated with religion, for example. While this is only a hypothetical assessment, it may one day be possible to establish a hierarchy that will work and be demonstrable in a vast majority of cases.

Positive Acceptance: We also wish to make a distinction between positive acceptance and negative acceptance in this connection. A positive acceptance refers to the acceptance of a newcomer i.e. a new element into the cultural milieu or mix. This element may have either a

³² Ogburn, William Fielding (1922). Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature. New York: B. W. Huebsch

positive or a negative consequence for society, and may be inducted through any of the modes described and discussed herein.

Negative Acceptance: A negative acceptance refers to the gradual phase out or elimination of an element from the cultural mix. This may be fraught with either beneficial or negative consequences for culture as a whole. Examples of this may include the elimination of tobacco or alcohol or even unhealthy foods from a popular diet. In some cases, it may involve the replacement of expensive foods with more commonly available ones. Negative acceptance may be harder in most cases than positive acceptance, and may be relatively more time-consuming. Nonetheless, this must be assessed with metrics and cross-cultural data, and we are nowhere there yet.

- Internalization

The internalization of a new element can take place through either of the following modes ('Modes of Internalization' of Cultural Elements):

Push-Pull churn: In this case, churn refers to the internal spread of a cultural element across all echelons or segments of society. The element may spread across all dimensions of society such as geographical segments, communities, age segments etc and may achieve complete or partial acceptance as the case may be.

Pull churn: This is a modification of the above scenario where an element is introduced without any external pressure or effort but is taken in due to the strength of the element.

Subconscious adoption and percolation: Subconscious adoption is not accompanied usually by any big bang introduction of a new element into the realm of a society or culture. Subconscious adoption is typically a much slower and an informal process and may take much longer than those introduced through a formalized push-pull mode. In this case, the element percolates through various echelons and rungs of society much more leisurely and slowly, often unobtrusively and unnoticed.

Push-pull adapt churn or Pull adapt churn: In this case, the cultural element is suitably adapted before internalization, either formally or informally. Adaptations are typically minor and refer to adjustments to ensure that the element is in conformity with the norms of society or meets the preferences of the people.

Push-pull modify churn or Pull modify churn: This is a variant of the scenario above, but often a heavy makeover is involved before the element can be internalized. This is more often a formal and a structured process and conscious modification is involved.

Change may also spread through the following modes within the context of a culture or a society (We refer to these as 'Modes of Internal Spread' of Cultural Elements as opposed to 'Modes of Introduction' of Cultural Elements). However, both need to be studied in conjunction with each other. Even though this would constitute a dimensional analysis, this approach may

be recommended because of its natural convenience and co-relation with observations in the real-world and types of propagation occurring in natural settings:

Top-down mode: In this mode, change is promoted by elites. This is the most common mode of socio-cultural change, and most changes with a few exceptions occur through this mode. This is because elites are better placed to absorb changes than the rest of the population by virtue of their social status, economic status or interconnectedness.

Horizontal-mode: in this mode, change is introduced in parallel without regard to geographical considerations or other dimensions such as age, economic status or gender. This type of change propagation may be relatively uncommon in the real-world, and in a pure form, almost never demonstrable.

Spatial spread: Here, change is first introduced in a sub-geography and then slowly spreads to other sub-geographies within the context of an appropriately-defined or a robustly-integrated cultural unit. This type of change propagation is relatively common in the real world, perhaps next only to Top-down propagation. Changes may also spread from Urban areas to rural areas in many contexts and situations.

Bottom-up mode: Here, change is introduced from the other end of the spectrum. For example, Dalits fought for social revolution in India, and changes were imposed on elites in due course.

Changes due to Mass mobilization: In this mode which is more common than the strictly horizontal mode, changes are introduced through popular revolution or awareness, and gradually imposed on the non-adherents, spreading both upwards and downwards and to other geographies in the process. This type may occur in specific situations, and is relatively common in the real-world. An example of this type of change was the Independence movement launched in India and other oppressed countries.

Generational Change: In this mode, change is introduced in younger generations. Changes may or may not be adopted by older generations. Complete or significant change occurs only when the older generations have died off. The differences in values of traits and attributes between younger and older generations may be quantified as a 'generation gap' per our generational analysis, and per our approach, a 'generation gap' is an ingrained difference in mean, modal or individual values of cultural traits or attributes between generations attributable to ongoing or elapsed socio-cultural change.

Other types of Dimensional spread: In this mode, change may be introduced from other specific dimensions such as gender, community etc. A classic example in this regard is the rise of feminism in different parts of the world. In certain situations, changes may also be introduced from a community and spread to other communities. Other examples include changes introduced from one religious community to other religious communities.

Differences by gender or religious affiliation may also be categorized separately, even though we recommend that it is not necessary for most general analysis.

Functional spread: In this mode, changes introduced in one function of a society, spread to other functions. For example, changes introduced to the education sector, may trigger changes to religion. This is strongly related to the Functionalist view of Socio-cultural Cultural change. The importance and the value of Functionalism have also been strongly reinforced by the new concepts such as Mindspace which are presented in this paper, and a functionalist analysis is indispensable to the modern Socio-cultural Anthropologist.

Multi-modal spread: Here, changes are introduced through several of the modes described above.

These differences would fade in the context of well-integrated or well-knit societies, but it is expected that some differences would remain. Analyzing rates of adoption across different segments and developing metrics will serve to indicate the level of socio-cultural integration within that culture. It is also expected that future Anthropologists will study such differences in greater detail in future and develop suitable hypothesis. The pace of adoption would also depend on the openness of the society in general, and autarchic societies are unlikely to be amenable to externally-induced changes.

Any change comprises several phases, and these are explained below. These operate regardless of the modes discussed above. The first phase may be described as a Familiarization phase where the element is introduced into the mix. The second phase is the Early Adoption phase where the incidence of the element slowly increases in society. The third phase is the Popularization phase (or in some cases, the phase of Rapid Increase) where the incidence of the element increases rapidly. The last phase is the Roadblock phase, where roadblocks are encountered due to the presence of isolated or larger pockets of resistance. This is common in any cultural context. We may also introduce the concept of 'Anticipated terminal value' here, which is applicable for all the modes described above. This can be suitably modelled. For example, vegetarianism was unknown virtually till the 1960's in the USA. In the year 1970, around one percent of Americans described themselves as vegetarians. This figure has now exceeded 6%. Is vegetarianism a fad? Will the percentage of Vegetarians in the USA decline again? Will the percentage of Vegetarians in the USA increase further? Will all Americans ever become vegetarians? Why are an increasing number of Americans becoming vegetarians? When, how and why will Vegetarianism hit a cultural roadblock? Cultural modelling here can be accomplished by performing a root cause analysis and an analysis of American cultural attributes at the same time, and this is something that only a Cultural Anthropologist is well-placed to do.

In our view, the following are the common stages involved in bridging inter-cultural gaps and intra-cultural gaps. These stages would be common to both internally-induced changes and externally-induced changes and would work commendably in both scenarios.

1. Stage One: Generation of awareness of other cultures or sub-cultures and positive aspects of other cultures or sub-cultures
2. Stage Two: Overcoming Social Inertia
3. Stage Three: Setting the ball rolling
4. Stage Four: Feedback, achieving dynamic re-equilibrium and further action

Typically, any culture is at or between any of the four stages enunciated above at any given point in time. The nature of the proactive measures to be taken depend on which stage the culture or sub-culture is, and the researcher must tweak and hone his strategies accordingly to reach the goal post. In these days of globalization and the ready availability of information, most cultures or sub-cultures would have easily crossed stage one. Proactive measures would however be required to ensure that the goals are met without jeopardizing social stability, harmony or the society's dynamic equilibrium. According to Convergence theorists, this is a natural process as societies and economies develop. Anthropologists may one day develop metrics to quantify the openness and amenability of societies to general change, and in liaison with other specialists such as psychologists and pedagogical practitioners propose change-inducing proposals as well to augment and strengthen cultural frameworks and institutions.

Identifying areas of Cultural lag

Cultural lag typically denotes the difference in evolution and maturity between material and non-material aspects of a culture. Cultural lag arises due to cultural inertia, over-reliance on tradition, lack of social infrastructure, or several other factors. Identifying cultural lag would be a crucial component of proactive change.

From a Neo-centrist perspective, a society is said to be in equilibrium when there are no internal and external paradoxes of any kind, or any paradoxes across space or time. Paradoxes are also inextricably interwoven with the idea of cognitive dissonance, and Leon Festinger and others have proposed that humans seek out psychological consistency to not only to thrive, flourish and prosper but also to survive. Thus, cognitive dissonance and paradoxes are antithetical to human nature and progress, and as such humans actively seek to eliminate them, either consciously or sub-consciously. Some work has already been done in the field, including the attempted extension of TRIZ in the field of social sciences. The elimination of paradoxes may be difficult to achieve in the short-term, but an action plan must nonetheless be worked out to achieve it in the long-term. Given its potential to tread upon and offend human sensibilities, this may be a task easier said than done. However, multitudinous possibilities may present themselves, if context-specific studies are initiated, and workable proposals and propositions formulated accordingly. The beauty of the Neo-centrist framework is that it is essentially long-term in orientation, and that short and medium term considerations are meshed with or are made subservient to long-term considerations. Thus, the core philosophy of Neo-centrism may be summarized in one or two simple sentences. What is good for humanity in the long-term is

good for individual cultures in the short-term as well. The necessary processes and techniques for integration across cultures and timeframes must however be worked out. ³³

- Feedback (over Cultural Area or beyond)

Pull churn feedback or Push-Pull churn feedback: This involved the provision of a feedback to the Cultural area in general or beyond. For example, the cultural element is reinforced and popularized and then re-introduced in alien contexts. In other cases, modifications may be made and the modified version is reintroduced in alien contexts or situations.

Cultural Integration within a Cultural Unit

Cultural Integration within a Cultural Unit takes place as follows, and it must be borne in mind that the term 'Cultural Unit' always has a geographical connotation. This process takes places continuously or repeatedly, even though differentiation will always persist. This kind of a cultural integration is complemented by fresh cultural inputs that may arise due to migrations etc, and by the process of cultural symbiosis in general:

Cultural Maladjustment

In the early days of Cultural integration, Cultural Maladjustment is usually the norm and this is usually accompanied by friction and resistance. There are innumerable examples of this. A case in point is the behavior of English-speaking elites in India who have viewed themselves as distinct from the general population, and the behavior and the thought worlds of Brahmins versus that of Dalits who constitute two different ends of the caste spectrum. Another case in point was the travails of early Sikh immigrants in the USA preceding intermarriage and integration, and their early travails included broken marriages due to their cultural incompatibility with Mexicans and others.

Cultural Adjustment

Cultural Adjustment typically proceeds at a snail's pace, and may sometimes require generational changes. Usually, attitudinal changes may also be required for Cultural Adjustment to proceed or be effective. In most cases, a class struggle, if we were to use the term, or affirmative action may be involved, and the process of Cultural adjustment and integration can take on many different paths.

Cultural Integration

³³ Festinger, L. (1957). *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

The next stage is Cultural Integration, and in this stage, disparate thought worlds tend to integrate into a wholesome unit. While the values and mores of the dominant culture tend to dominate, there may be, on several occasions, adjustments from many different sides, warranting or leading to changes in the culture itself.

Cultural differentiation

Cultural differentiation usually however continues post-integration, and the reasons for this were discussed in our paper. Therefore, homogenization has its logical limits as a rule of thumb, though the extent and nature of homogenization will vary from context to context. Thus, hybridity will persist in any culture.

Mind-orientation

The theory of mind-orientation, we believe is one way of assessing social and cultural change in society. Mind-orientation refers not only to the thoughts, beliefs and values a person fills up his mind with, but also how he acts upon them to orient his attitudes in life. These will ultimately affect his actions, and his direction and purpose in life. We believe mind-orientation is shaped largely by (a) parenting and upbringing (b) peer-pressure (c) education and schooling (d) The effects of the multi-media (e) societal constraints and restrictions including a multitude of factors such as language, religion, cults and ideologies (f) Socio-economic status. In the above scenario, parenting and upbringing, peer-pressure, education and schooling etc, are much stronger influences than say, the multimedia, and these begin at a much earlier age, to boot. Factors such as parenting and upbringing, peer-pressure, education and schooling etc, are also determined by the values and attributes of religious, linguistic and cultural or social groups which will in turn impact parenting, peer-pressure and other factors impacting mind-orientation. However, the extent to which religious groups, social or cultural groups and linguistic groups exert influence varies from context to context. In some cases, the effect of a religious group, social group, cultural group, or linguistic group may be very low, marginal or even non-existent. In some other cases, their influences may be relatively high. The quantification of the impact of such groups on an individual's mind-orientation may be attempted from scenario to scenario. In many cases, other groups also exert powerful influences, examples being the values of an external or third-party culture. Analyze the American influences on Indians living in the USA for instance. Other secondary groups can also affect an individual's mind-orientation. The mind-orientation of different groups is also determined by the global socio-cultural landscape, and this is determined by the process of cultural symbiosis as described in this paper.

Thus, mind orientation is tightly interwoven with culture and society, and even in this age of globalization, an individual's mind-orientation is deeply impacted by a given society's values, preferences and constraints. Thus, the collective and general mind-orientation of individuals changes rather slowly, and cannot change beyond a point. We refer to this as general mind-

orientation in society. As a result of this, an individual tends to acquire and retain thoughts that fit in with his mind-orientation, and tends to sub-consciously ignore those thoughts that do not fit in with his mind-orientation. Thus, an individual's mind-orientation impacts many aspects of his life, such as his ability to acquire and retain language, his innovation, his creativity etc. This also explains the attitudes and behaviour of individuals in a society.

On the other hand, in any society, there will always be individual exceptions. This will be chiefly due to individual and personality differences. Individual and personal differences can be found in almost every society through the world. However, some societies encourage and promote personal and individual differences, while some others do not. This is why some societies are more tolerant of geniuses, prodigies and mavericks than others. An individual tries to reconcile his personality traits with the expectations of society, and wherever this effort is not entirely successful, a degree of cognitive dissonance will remain. Thus, from our perspective, individuals may be classified into conformists, partial conformists, non-conformists, and outcasts. In order to make such a classification, we define the zone of conformity and the zone of tolerance. Non-conformity may also be assessed by degree or magnitude of non-conformity, and by the number or percentage of non-conformists in a society. The latter is a particularly useful metric, and it can also have a bearing on the ability to bring about mass changes in society through a snowball effect, a ripple effect, a cascading effect or a domino effect, for instance.

At the same time, a society's values also keep changing, often triggered by changes to individuals' values and mind-orientation. A society's values also restrain individuals at times. Thus, the relationship between an individual's values and mind-orientation and the society's values, more and norms is extremely interesting and worth exploring at a greater level of details.

An individual's mind-orientation may also change suddenly or over a period of time due to other factors such as cognitive dissonance, and this may result in a mind-orientation that is at odds with the expectations of society. We had discussed this under the section dealing with 'cognitive dissonance' in an earlier paper. Thus, an individual's mind-orientation is arrived at either very peaceably, through a series of sub-conscious mini-eureka points in a majority of cases, or in a much smaller number of cases, through great mental upheaval and trauma. In most cases, an individual's mind-orientation is determined sub-consciously through:

- (a) An internal assessment: Internal assessments are usually carried out sub-consciously and informally from time to time, and course-corrections automatically effected. In this kind of assessment, an individual assesses his own strengths and capabilities either in isolation or relatively with the members of his group. The former is an absolute assessment, while the latter is a relative or a comparative assessment. Both types of assessments may be subjective and unstructured, but may nonetheless be highly effective. For example, most individuals in a society would not choose to become intellectuals in the absence of self-confidence or a family support system.

- (b) An external assessment: Like internal assessments, external assessments are also carried out sub-consciously and informally from time to time, and course-corrections automatically effected. In this kind of assessment, an individual assesses his own strengths and capabilities against the backdrop of cultural requirements, cultural acceptance or economic opportunities. External assessments is usually carried out vis-à-vis his immediate environment i.e. family or friends or the society at large. This assessment is likewise, carried out informally and with minimal data, but that does not rule out the possibility that it may be effective. This would again, for example, explain why most individuals in a society would not choose to become intellectuals in the absence of a family support system or career-opportunities at large. This assessment is also typically carried out keeping in mind a wide gamut of cultural and economic possibilities. If such a man can instead become a doctor and combine it with other roles to his convenience and satisfaction, he would more easily opt to become one.

The above process may perhaps be a logical and a natural process, and if it is disturbed through the operation of an external agency, may result in great trauma and distress, particularly if it happens during the crucial period of personality formation or sufficiently late in adulthood.

Mind-orientation may be assessed for a nationality, sub-nationality, or even religious group of linguistic group. Mind-orientation leads to disparate thought-worlds. In order to carry out this exercise, sub-categories and subclasses of each culture or linguistic or religious group along with their components and attributes, their qualities and characteristics are assessed. These may even be represented by a Venn diagram, and shifts tracked, along with a comprehensive analysis of the underlying changes for change. It is also possible to carry out an analysis of mind-orientation by socio-economic group. In such a case, socio-economic groups may be identified based on a suitable set of criteria. Changes of the mind-orientation of socio-economic groups may also be tracked from time to time, and the causes for the convergence or divergence (the latter is unhealthy in a majority of circumstances and situations) of their mind-orientation may be explored.

We may also reiterate that an individual belongs to a religious group, a social or a cultural group, a linguistic group, and any other group. In addition, he retains his own individual characteristics. Therefore, an individual's mind orientation is an amalgam of all these. The sum total of an individual's mind-orientation may again be defined as a thought-world, even though a thought world may comprise of elements that would typically not be considered during as assessment of an individual's mind-orientation. However, a comprehensive assessment of the mind-orientation of any group must be done by breaking it up into its constituent elements as described in the paper.

Types of Mind-orientation

The following are the basic Mind-orientation types. Each Mind-orientation type may be further subdivided into several types, though the latter is mostly left open-ended at this stage for further interpretation and elaboration.

- Family orientation: In this case, the individual's efforts are primarily geared towards the satisfaction of familial needs. This is perhaps the most common type of mind-orientation amongst a vast majority of people in different parts of the world, and particularly in traditional and conservative societies including India. Individuals with familial orientation may be adept or expert in making a living through various means, but these efforts are usually geared at satisfying the needs of the family, and are not a goal or an end by themselves. Such individuals may be punctilious and meticulous, paying great attention to detail and execution. Such individuals may also be often empathetic to the needs of others, often putting their own needs next or even last. Family orientation is very common among women, but not too uncommon among men, either. A Family mind-orientation has several tangible benefits which include the preservation and transmission of culture.
- Employment or Business orientation: In this case, the individual's efforts are primarily geared towards employment or business. I.e. satisfaction of livelihood needs, and all other efforts are subservient to these. Such orientations are common in many parts of the world, including developing and developed ones, and equate to a situation where livelihood is a passion or calling in life. Employment or Business orientation is very common among men, but not too uncommon among women, either. Employment orientation may be distinct from Business orientation, and the modal personal traits or attributes may vary in each case. The former may be marked by humility and attention to detail, while the latter may be marked by brazenness and acceptance of risk. An employment or business orientation has several economic benefits for society, and will lead to a greater well-being for society as a whole. However, this may be suitably sub-categorized for a more granular analysis. For example, accountants may possess different modal attributes from doctors and this may be reinforced through parenting. This is why doctors' children may be more successful as doctors and not engineers. In some cases, changes may be introduced through rebelliousness and recalcitrance, and we have discussed this in another part of this paper.
- Individual mind-orientation: In this case, the individual tends to be self-centric in his pursuits. This type of orientation is characterized by a great emphasis or satisfaction of individual goals and aspirations. He may also attach a great deal of importance to his own personality or image makeup. There may be several variations of the basic theme, and each will be characterized by different personal traits or attributes. A variant for example may be the hedonistic personality type where other endeavours are sacrificed to the pursuit of undiluted pleasure. Another variant is the Politician and the Manipulator, and this type of person typically seeks unnatural control over others, often going to great length to strategize and legitimize deviant behaviour. Yet another type may be the basic introvert who may be characterized by a general disinterest in the affairs of others around him.

- Societal Orientation: This type of Mind-orientation tends to put the well-being and needs of society above individual and all other needs. This type of mind-orientation is relatively rare in most societies, in spite of the fact that has some tangible benefits to offer to society.
- Religious, spiritual or philosophical orientation: In this case, a great deal of importance is placed on religious, spiritual or philosophical needs often at the expense of all other needs. It may also be recommended to distinguish religiousness from spiritualism or a philosophical bent of mind for further analysis as there may be subtle differences between all the three. Religious, spiritual and philosophical orientation beyond a certain degree of measure may be counter-productive and lower the well-being of society.
- Intellectual or creative orientation: In this type, a great deal of importance is placed on intellectual needs and creativity. A variant of this may be an Artistic Mind-orientation. A few may however, wish to treat the two as separate categories. This type of mind-orientation is relatively less common particularly in traditional or conservative societies, and may be the exception rather than the norm in most advanced societies. The exact opposite of this kind of orientation is regimentation and adherence to bureaucracy or a procedural orientation, and this will stifle creativity and imagination in the ordinary course of events.
- Militant-orientation: In this type of orientation, individuals are geared to fight and protect society from external threats and forces. This type of mind-orientation may be present to some degree in advanced societies, but may be more common in tribal and feudal societies.
- The Anarchist or the queer man: This type of mind-orientation may not be a bona fide category per se but a residual type and may be characterized by a partial or complete disorientation on some or many fronts. Many would not accept this as a mind-orientation and may be a resultant of unique personal experiences or a worldview shaped by cognitive dissonance.
- Other types of Basic mind-orientation: Other types of basic mind-orientation may also defined with a proper justification, but most may be subservient to and slotted into the above categories.

It may also be necessary to plot an individual's primary as well as his secondary mind-orientation, and an individual's mind-orientation is usually composite. It may also be necessary to assess his performance on various fronts, and in relation to the different and varying roles he may come to play in his quotidian life. The statistical relationships between various mind-orientations may also need to be probed both within the context of an individual, a society or beyond, and one way to do this is through the concept of Mindspace. Thus, the increase in inventors in a society will bring about ripple effects in that culture, and trigger further positive changes through say, improvement in education. This is somewhat akin to an intellectual revolution that was observed in Europe a few centuries ago. The concept of thought worlds is linked to both mind-orientation and mindsapce, even though it may cover a wider set of issues, including those which as not included in an assessment of mind-orientation. All the three are related and measurable through suitably designed qualitative and quantitative techniques, unlike the idea of personality which is much more abstract, and to the Anthropologist on the field, quite meaningless and useless. We may also define the "Natural Mind-orientation" of the individual versus his real-world mind-orientation, the difference between the two being mostly

due to real-world exigencies and factors beyond his control such as cultural factors. The former can be suitably tested and demonstrated and this approach may be associated with own real-world utility. Another approach may be to sample individuals across cultures and understand how their orientations came about. This can be used for theorization and model-building as well, as it can be productively used as a heuristic for individual-level reinforcement and development exercises, programmes and activities.

The interrelationships between culture, mind-orientation and thought worlds are also deep-rooted, fundamental, comprehensive and multi-directional enough to be of great practical value. Thus, thought worlds, which cover the entire breadth of the human experience can be assessed rather elegantly on the field through questionnaires or interviews and suitable course-corrections be recommended.

This would also be a superior approach to the idea of intelligence. The latter remains rather poorly defined, and the former gives us a greater fulcrum for meaningful analysis and remedial action. Controversial endeavours such as attempts to define intelligence at the level of a nation and other “race” centric definitions of intelligence notwithstanding, few will be able to deny that intelligence is largely culture-neutral. If the Flynn effect and other potential causes such as cultural factors, economic factors and lack of opportunities (Also, the all important factor of linguistic empowerment and disability not attributable to Biological factors) are isolated, however, we can still reengage in meaningful debate as science must ultimately triumph over parochial considerations. Our hypothesis also states that such studies lend themselves to rampant misuse and open up a Pandora’s box of unmitigated evil, setting a bad precedent for other researchers. We will even link mind-orientation (and not justified or imagined notions of intelligence) with economic well-being and prosperity. Richard Lynn’s and Tatu Vanhanen’s unfortunately equate “intelligence” with “The wealth of nations” – their work has been quoted endlessly by racists and Eurocentrists and may even, from our perspective, count as casual and irresponsible scholarship. It is even difficult to define talent (or other related concepts such as aptitude) concisely, leave alone prove them to be culture-neutral or otherwise use them meaningfully for cultural studies. In a nutshell, all the above definitions will remain controversial for a long time to come. For general cultural studies and remediation efforts therefore, the concept of mind-orientation may still reign supreme and will open up a gamut of interesting inter-linkages and a plethora of possibilities.³⁴

Other studies support our assertions overwhelmingly. According to "Intelligence: Knowns and Unknowns", a report published by a special task force constituted by the Board of Scientific Affairs of the American Psychological Association in 1995, Intelligence may be defined as

³⁴ Lynn, R. and Vanhanen, T. (2002). [*IQ and the wealth of nations*](#). Westport, CT: Praeger

follows, and definition this clearly demonstrates the potential ambiguities still associated with the term:³⁵

“Individuals differ from one another in their ability to understand complex ideas, to adapt effectively to the environment, to learn from experience, to engage in various forms of reasoning, to overcome obstacles by taking thought. Although these individual differences can be substantial, they are never entirely consistent: a given person's intellectual performance will vary on different occasions, in different domains, as judged by different criteria. Concepts of "intelligence" are attempts to clarify and organize this complex set of phenomena. Although considerable clarity has been achieved in some areas, no such conceptualization has yet answered all the important questions, and none commands universal assent. Indeed, when two dozen prominent theorists were recently asked to define intelligence, they gave two dozen, somewhat different, definitions.”

While we cannot delve into the intricacies surrounding the term intelligence here, it would suffice to say that these should ideally be quantified (Examples being cognitive ability and mind-application) and included in an assessment of individual traits and attributes, at least as per our approach, but again to what extent these would be determined or shaped by culture must be thrown open to debate and question.

Individual Mind-orientation Chart

Name of the Individual:					
Age:					
Sex:					
Location:					
Evaluated by:					
Evaluated on:					
Primary Mind-orientation:					
S.No	Mind-orientation	Value Rating (0 to 10)	Previous rating	Societal or total average rating	Additional Remarks
1	Family-orientation				
2	Business or Employment orientation				
3	Individual orientation				
4	Societal orientation				
5	Religious, spiritual or philosophical				

³⁵ Neisser, Ulrich; Boodoo, Gwyneth; Bouchard, Thomas J.; Boykin, A. Wade; Brody, Nathan; Ceci, Stephen J.; Halpern, Diane F.; Loehlin, John C.; Perloff, Robert; Sternberg, Robert J.; Urbina, Susana (1996). "Intelligence: Knowns and Unknowns". *American Psychologist*. 51:77–101.

	orientation				
6	Intellectual or creative orientation				
7	Militant-orientation				

Evaluation of a Societies Modal Mind-orientation

Description of the culture:							
Evaluated by:							
Evaluated on:							
Total Sample size:							
Modal Mind-orientation:							
S.No / Date	Sample distribution						
	Family-orientation	Business or Employment orientation	Individual orientation	Societal orientation	Religious, spiritual or philosophical orientation	Intellectual or creative orientation	Militant orientation
	Dimensional Analysis (Analysis by age, gender, geography etc)						

Individual level changes to Mind-orientation can take place either due to Individual experiences, reactions to Cognitive Dissonance, changes to internal institutions and exposure to alien cultures. Society level changes can take place due to political changes, economic development, spread of education and emancipation of sections of society. It would be necessary to track these over a period of time, as these will throw up vital clues about the inner workings of society. The maturity of a society can also be inferred from the existence of multiple mind-orientations and the tolerance of multiple mind-orientations. We know that a society has arrived. A study of Mind orientation can also be used to formulate context-specific Economic developmental models. Even in India, what works in Rajasthan may not work for Assam.

Culture and Mind-orientation school

We advance four very serious criticisms of Personality studies from a Cultural Anthropological perspective. Firstly, personality types as canonically understood, may be relatively more culture-neutral than mind-orientation and there may be several personality types within a culture. Secondly, personality types may not have a major impact on culture and the direction of cultural change even though they

may be somewhat influenced by it. Thirdly, personality does not lend itself to easy change and cannot be targeted by Anthropologists for socio-cultural amelioration or emancipation. Fourthly, personality types cannot be readily assessed on the ground through reliable techniques. However, personality types may manifest themselves in cultural traits such as aggressiveness, love, sympathy, empathy etc with possible variations in mean values across cultures, and are still included for the purposes of our study. Such cultural traits may be more easily neutralized over time than those pertaining to kinship, economic structures, food and other elements.

We also propose the 'Culture and Mind-orientation school' here similar to the Culture and Personality school. To summarize, the objectives of this school inter alia, would be as under:

- (a) To study the impact of culture in fostering mind-orientation
- (b) To study the role of various mind-orientations in fostering cultural solidarity and the inter-relationships of mind-orientation in a society
- (c) To study the tolerance of mind-orientation in a culture
- (d) To study variances in mind-orientation within a culture
- (e) To study changes to mind-orientation within a culture over a period of time
- (f) To study variations in mind-orientation across cultures
- (g) To study trends in convergence or divergence in mind-orientation over a period
- (h) To study the role of mind-orientations in promoting cultural change
- (i) To study the interrelationships between cultural evolution and typical mind-orientation
- (j) To study the interrelationships between cultural evolution and diversification of mind-orientation
- (k) To theorize on modal mind-orientations in a culture
- (l) To theorize on possible interrelationships between mind-orientation and personality type
- (m) To theorize on various pedagogical techniques and their impact on mind-orientation; to evolve new pedagogical techniques to initiate course-corrections if and when required
- (n) To study potential relationships between mind-orientation and economic development as a potential tool for planners and economists.
- (o) To assess the impact of various proactive measures on mind-orientation, and arrive at ideal approaches that lead to optimal results
- (p) To carry out root cause analyses for various economic and social scenarios and linking them with a study of mind-orientations
- (q) To link various mind-orientations to individual traits or attributes. For example, traits and attributes may vary between a predominantly militant community to an agricultural community, and these are reinforced through parenting and peer-pressure. Likewise, a community which comprises largely of practicing doctors may have different modal traits and attributes from a society comprising largely of accountants.
- (r) To identify traits or attributes that need to be inculcated or modified to achieve changes in mind-orientation
- (s) Accomplishing a multi-dimensional study between cultural attributes, personality types, mind-orientation types, individual traits and attributes, mindspace, thought worlds and identity types.

- (t) To identify how traits, attributes and mind-orientations of individuals were formed. (This can be done by means of suitably devised statistical sampling techniques). The results may be used to refine categorizations and sub-categorizations within mind-orientations even further.

Advantages of a study Mind-orientation

- Is much more easily understood compared to personality types and mind-orientation is an indicator of what an individual is likely to do in the normal course of events
- Can be gauged or assessed much more easily than personality types through simple observation techniques
- The concept is packaged into convenient categories that can be easily understood even by the layman
- Can be linked to proactive measures and satisfies the criteria of interactive reactive approaches. Thus, mind-orientation is variable unlike personality types
- Can be linked to pedagogical techniques and root cause analysis for observed values performed
- Can be easily be understood in relation to culture: the direction a culture will take can be inferred from it
- While there may be no ideal mix of mind-orientations, suitable metrics such as a culture's ability to promote diversity of thinking and to promote the natural growth of individuals' mind-orientations can be proposed

Some potential limitations of the concept of mind-orientation

- Mind-orientation is largely a determinant of cultural factors and may not be reflective of a person's innate capabilities or talents
- Mind-orientation cannot be ascertained early in life
- A study of personality types may be more useful for career planning, personality analysis and some other forms of analysis than mind-orientation
- Mind-orientation may change much more easily over a person's life time than basic personality type

From our perspective, personality formation may happen as follows due to various lifecycle experiences within the context of a culture and would be related to, or result in different mind-orientations. The Anthropologist may identify these categories of individuals in relation to each culture for the purpose of statistical analysis or sampling as choosing the wrong types can result in a flawed analysis. From our perspective, this is a relatively more measure of personality for the Cultural Anthropologist than other conventional theories of personality. This approach therefore does not categorize individuals into personality types per se, but seeks to categorize individuals on how their personality was formed:

- Standard personality: Personality formation through subconscious assimilation reflective of the standard culture. Standard personalities may have had relatively uneventful childhoods or lifestyles or conservative upbringing. This type of personality is normally associated with more mundane mind-orientations such as familial orientation or livelihood and business orientation. The idea of standard personality may vary from culture to culture, along with its attendant mind

orientations. For example, most women in India may be family-oriented though in the USA, this may not be so. However, most individuals in any culture would belong to this category. Such individuals are conformists, may not be highly ambitious, or may be unwilling to do things any differently from the majority of the population. Even though the process of determination of mind-orientation may have been gone through, it is mostly sub-conscious and rarely conscious.

- Ideal personality and near-ideal personality: This personality arises as a result of a formation of composite traits through observation, emulation, amalgamation and adaptation (Reconciliation of contradictory strains). This type of personality would normally be associated with a composite mind-orientation which are a combination of more common and relatively less common mind-orientations. The process of identity-formation and determination of mind-orientation is usually more explicit here, and may often involve role models and a conscious desire to enhance desirable traits such as extrovertness or sociability.
- Original or genius personality: Original ideas synthesized with existing ideas. This would stem from knowledge, exposure or intelligence and lead to unique mind-orientations.
- Rebel personality: Personality formed by rebelling against existing ideas. This is commonly induced due to cognitive dissonance. Such individuals may evolve into geniuses as well, but this may require some amount of self-channelizing or direction by an external agency. A Cultural Anthropologist can play a role in identifying such individuals. An example here was Harilal Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi's son, whose personality development and mind-orientation was several interfered with. He became severely disturbed emotionally as a result, turned out to be a rebel, but failed to make anything of himself. This case study can be easily analysed based on our principles. He ultimately became a downer and a goner, dying a miserable and a lonely death.
- Queer personality: This category comprises of mavericks and outliers. This type of personality is typically formed due to unusual experiences in childhood or in the formative years, and such individuals do not normally developed into geniuses or prodigies.
- Downers and goners: This category comprises of individuals who have not been able to make it in life, and appear to have little or no prospects for success. Such individuals result when the personally-development process has been severely interfered with usually through an external agency, or due to some reason, lack the foundational competencies to succeed in life.

Statistical distributions of the individuals conditioned by the above factors are also largely culture-neutral unlike those of mind-orientations, and these would occur across societies regardless of their complexity, advancement or size. However, the results thrown up by the above process will vary over time, due to changes in society in culture. An individual may be exposed to more peer-influences, peer-influences or may be brought up differently with the advent of new cultural changes.

Theory of Mindspace

We will also further describe the concept of 'mindspace' in this paper (This concept was introduced by us in an earlier paper), and we believe this is a simple but effective tool. The idea of 'mindspace'

originates from the fact that every individual has limited time at his disposal, or limited mental bandwidth to focus on multitudinous issues. He can at best devote his time and attention to a limited number of activities. Thus, if he spends an inordinate amount of time on a particular activity, this automatically reduces the time available for other activities. For example, if an individual spends more time watching television, this automatically reduces the time that he has for reading. Thus, the popularization of television has adversely impacted reading habits. Let us consider another example. The advent of the internet has similarly led to the decline of television or cinema as a mode of entertainment. It has also led to the decline of reading for pleasure, but has boosted access and availability of information. Thus, the internet and the television have led to a general decline in people's reading skills in any given language. However, this may have boosted the demand for basic, functional skills in English and the popularization of many technical words among large sections of the population in India. On the other hand, knowledge of words pertaining to art, literature and poetry may have actually declined. Similarly the interest or the ability to obtain profound knowledge on any topic through a serious study of original material may have been severely compromised. Thus, the advent of technology may always not be for the betterment of society. It may even induce a shift from productive avocations and pastimes to less productive avocations and pastimes. This may impact a wide variety of domains such as linguistic skills, learning ability and consequently, even self-confidence or attitudes towards life.

However, the popularity of the internet has brought about several attendant benefits. For example, it may have led to greater access to knowledge, generated an interest in different fields of study, reduce the aspiration deficit among some social groups, and propel them to greater heights. It may not even be too far-fetched to claim that the rise of the internet has reduced tobacco and alcohol, not just by making them aware of the dangers associated with them but also by giving them a positive orientation in life. Last but not the least, it may have allowed more and more people to reap the benefits arising from the wide dissemination of knowledge and has destroyed social barriers. It has truly become a great social leveler.

This approach may also be used, with some degree of success in analyzing and predicting personality types or making career decisions. Why aren't intellectuals worldly-wise? Why aren't worldly-wise people intellectually strong? This concept may also be analyzed and assessed with what we call a "tipping point". In other words, after a person has spent or invested some time and effort on an activity, he may not deem it prudent to spend inordinate amounts of time on another activity. Why aren't bookworms outdoors people? Why aren't sportsmen bookworms?

Thus, this approach may be examined from three dimensions. The first is self-driven re-orientation which does not involve any influence or action by third-parties. The second is re-orientation induced by third parties typically through some form of activism. The third is peer-driven re-orientation which may be a sub-conscious process. Peer-driven re-orientation is a more interesting and a more potent tool because it allows us to induce strategic shifts through awareness creation. This will allow changes to spread through society horizontally, and through relatively minimal effort. At times peer-driven changes may be due to a 'follow the herd' mentality or a desire to 'keep up with the Jonases'.

Mindspace shifts may also be approached from another perspective. We would like to refer to the first type as horizontal, where shifts are brought about through peer-interaction and changes in society. The second type of classification is Generational where changes in mindspace are analyzed from generation to generation. The third type is a individual-level temporal shift where changes occur in an individual over a period in time. A fourth way of analyzing mindspace is by segmenting society into different strata based on education, income level, socioeconomic parameters or any other suitable criteria, and then analyzing changes in the composition of society. This is known as a group-level temporal shift. A combination of such methods can yield rich rewards. This may also be understood in terms of our Vertical-Horizontal factors approach. Mindspace is however, more of a zero-sum equation; if something gets in it marginalizes or eliminates something else; conversely, if something is consciously or sub-consciously eliminated, it will eventually make room for something else. This is why mindspace is a connecting thread that connects other elements of a gigantic jig-saw puzzle, and is a pre-requisite for comprehending individual and societal change.

Mindspace shifts may also be triggered by 'Eureka points' which we may refer to as unanticipated or unexpected shifts brought about through the occurrence of specific events. These can often bring about mind-altering or permanent changes in an individual.

This approach not only allows us to analyze the underlying causes of change but also to predict cultural shifts due to disruptive technologies or other changes with greater precision. It also allows us to prepare a cause and effects diagram with a great degree of precision by analyzing all downstream effects of any decision. Consequently, it also allows us to make course corrections wherever they are required in the interests of society by taking proactive measures.

This approach also has several other potential uses. For example, the spread of Hindi in South India will lead to a situation where more and more people use Hindi instead of English. This will automatically reduce the time people have to practice spoken English, or the desire among people of some sections of South Indian society to practice spoken English. However, Hindi cannot replace English per the dynamics of language spread. Therefore, English cannot be rooted out from Indian soil, and the promotion of Hindi may have actually entrenched English even more. How can the seemingly contradictory observations above be used to model a shift in people's proficiency in English? It will indeed be no exaggeration to state that the concept of mindspace can even be used to model linguistic changes and the direction of evolution of a language in general. It can also be used to tweak pedagogical theories and approaches to create a eureka moment in learners and students. What approaches can induce a positive change in mindset? Are they personality development and attitude orientation courses alone? Will changes to syllabus in core subjects also help? In this era of near-universality of education, analyzing and comparing different approaches to education can help arrive at optimal solutions. A host of other possibilities will readily suggest themselves upon more detailed examination, and we therefore strongly believe that the concept of mindspace is worth pursuing to its logical end.

Advantages of Mindspace

The following are the advantages of the concept of mindspace, which in some respects is a warped depiction of the concept of thought worlds given that it represents a reality where different thoughts and elements vie for each other for attention:

1. The concept of mindspace can be expressed and modeled in non-abstract terms
2. This concept can be expressed in terms that a layman can understand unlike most theories related to personality
3. This model is amenable to questionnaires and other statistical and non-statistical techniques
4. Changes in mindspace can be effected relatively easily and rapidly, and such changes measured as well
5. The concept of mindspace is closely related to mind-orientation, and yet changes can be made extremely easily: changes to mindspace can be accomplished more easily than mind-orientation

Cultural Sentiment

We also introduce the concept of Cultural Sentiment here. Cultural Sentiment is the popular sentiment prevalent in a society or culture. The concept of Cultural Sentiment is related to thought worlds but there are at least three fundamental differences between the two: Firstly, Culture Sentiment tends to operate more at the level of a society, culture or a sub-culture rather than at a level of an individual. Secondly, Cultural Sentiment is more abstract than that of thought worlds, can be gauged and assessed but not usually measured in quantifiable terms. Third, Cultural Sentiment changes much more slowly and only as a result to fundamental changes to society, and Anthropologists should ideally adopt a long-term perspective of such changes, and changing Cultural sentiment would be a much more complex exercise with its own unique challenges, operating principles and guidelines. Thought worlds are largely shaped by the Cultural sentiment of a society, and would be constrained by it. Cultural Sentiment can also be studied at a level of a cultural category or a sub-category, though perhaps not at a great level of granularity. The concepts of functionalism and structuralism would apply to Cultural Sentiment too, though to a rather more limited extent and degree: Thus, the idea of Cultural Sentiment shares some similarities with thought worlds. The Cultural Sentiment of a culture or a society is also the aggregation of the Individual Mindset of the members of the society, and would take into account modal and non-modal mindsets.

Cultural Mindset

The Cultural Mindset on the other hand, would commonly operate at the level of an individual, and yet would form a critical component of any assessment. The aggregation of Cultural Mindset including modal and non-modal ones (or typical or non-typical ones) in a given culture or society will constitute the Cultural Sentiment of a Society given the fact that most cultural elements would impinge on the human psyche and impact human behaviour, and that there would be some bi-directional relationship between the two. The concept of Cultural Mindset is somewhat more tangible than that of the concept of Cultural Sentiment, and can be expressed in layman's terms or compartmentalized into easily understandable categories. A mindset is an individual's mental makeup, but can be more easily

categorized and assessed. Understanding and categorizing Mindsets in a culture, and suggesting remedial action for change would perhaps constitute a vital aspect of any cultural assessment. Cultural Mindset can also be categorized based on various parameters, the most common of which would be flexibility or conduciveness to change; on the basis of this parameter, the most logical classifications would be dogmatic, yielding, flexible and freeform though more gradations or categorizations at a finer level of granularity and precision may be readily adopted. This approach therefore furnishes multiple levels and platforms for cultural analysis. The Mind-orientation of an individual is also greatly dependant on his mindset, as also are this thought worlds. Thus, an individual's mind-orientation and thought worlds constitute a critical link between an individual's psyche and his actions in the real-world.

Thought worlds

Thought worlds must be co-related with cultures, subcultures, cultural categories, cultural sub-categories, individual elements, and also at the level of a cultural sub-group. The latter would usually correspond to different dimensions such as age, gender and religious affiliation. The assessment of an individual's thought worlds must be comprehensive and complete and must be presented in clear and unambiguous terms. Any ambiguities must also be suitably presented and documented.

There is an underlying structuralism and functionalism in thought worlds, and it would be illustrative and instructive to build taxonomies and hierarchies of thoughts and ideas that make up an individual's thought world much in the manner of a cultural taxonomy. Thus, hierarchies of typical or modal thought worlds in cultures, subcultures and individuals can also be accomplished. All the concepts that operate and are applicable to the theories of structuralism and functionalism would be carried forward here as well including core doctrines of subconscious operations. It would also be illuminating to understand how changes to one aspect of a culture propagate internally and cause a ripple or a cascading effect. It would also be instructive to understand the role of an invisible hand in maintaining internal or external equilibrium without disturbing harmony. Proactive measures may result in changes, but these changes are usually introduced in such a way that they cause minimal disturbance or disharmony. Changes that usually do not satisfy these principles are usually rejected or produce a level of cognitive dissonance that result more painful changes subject to the constraints of human nature and behaviour.

Theory of Convergence of Thought worlds

According to our theory of convergence of thought worlds, thought worlds possessed by people pertaining to different segments of a society, or among people in different societies tend to converge over a period. This happens due to three factors. The first is the freer flow and circulation of information within or across societies due to improved technologies. The key assumption here is that technologies will always improve because they satisfy the utility factor. They are also driven by competition and the desire to maintain a profit. The second is that autarchic economic, political or cultural paradigms will not sustain because they are against the human spirit, and are tantamount to the obfuscation of knowledge. The third point that we would like to make here is that periods of positive economic growth and progress are associated with positive attitudes and periods of economic recession, depression or societal decadence. However, experience has amply borne out that periods of economic

growth and technological progress vastly outnumber the periods of recession. This is because human endeavour and enterprise proactively seeks solutions to problems, and the vested interests that desire progress in a capitalistic setup always outnumber the vested interests that (if any) benefit from economic decline. Most recessions and economic depressions have also been surmounted through technological innovations. However, the convergence will never be complete as there will always be room for individual differences.

The thought worlds of individual groups of people (some of which are driven by ideological predispositions) also tend to converge and aberrations are ultimately left by the wayside. For example, both left-wing (Marxist) and right-wing (Hindutva approaches) to history which are driven by self-imposed worldviews (A term that is described separately) may be doomed and may be consigned to the annals of history. The worldview of the Archetypal American and the Asian Indian, are likely to move closer as time passes, driven chiefly by a generational change from both sides. We will see a convergence of thought in all such cases, albeit slowly. We may refer to this as the theory of Group Convergence of Thought worlds. A primary assumption and a pre-requisite here is that the factors favouring convergence will always overwhelm factors favouring divergence, at least in the long term.

The third hypothesis that we would like to introduce here is that the 'Theory of General Positive Drift of attitudes'. According to this hypothesis, human attitudes tend to improve over a period and become more positive. By positive attitudes, we mean those attitudes which aid in human or personal progress and are associated with constructive pursuits. This is because positive attitudes are essential for survival in a cut-throat world, and other deviations and irregularities will be left to bite the dust. There may be exceptions to this however, and these can be (a) Individual non-conformities (b) group non-conformities (c) Economic cycle driven non-conformities (Negative attitudes may be associated with recessions and depressions). However, as per our hypothesis, attitudes in general have a positive trend. This is because negative attitudes may be unsupportable in the long-term and may be fraught with disastrous consequences both for the individual and the society at large. Thus attitudes tend to become healthier in the longer-term (in spite of possible cultural-level, social group level and overall fluctuations) and pessimism biases, cynicism-driven biases and optimism biases will reduce in the long-term, instances of pessimism biases and cynicism-driven biases falling faster than optimism biases. However, attitudes may improve up to a point, and then level off. Improvement in attitudes will also trigger greater rationalization, and this will in turn, led to convergence of thought worlds. There may be exceptions to this process, however. A general dissatisfaction with cultural integration may prompt or provoke variegated reactions such as the emergence of opposing groups. As per the Ascending Wave Theory of Socio cultural integration, these are aberrations when viewed from a long-term perspective, and are largely irrelevant for the purposes for long-term cultural studies or many theorization exercises. Likewise, traits and attributes also tend to converge over a period and also improve gradually before leveling off. We may call to mind the concept of the 'Psychic Unity of Mankind' here. This would imply that differences in values are predominantly due to cultural factors which may include environmental and non-biological factors. Thus, factors such as "ego", "rivalry" and "jealousy" are determinants of culture and a society's fundamental institutions and these would weaken and gradually wane in the face of the inevitable burgeoning of horizontal factors due to the onslaught of socio cultural integration.

Changes in attitudes have other downstream implications as well for a society's core institutions such as religion and kinship systems, and the study of the convergence of cultures may be a fascinating exercise by itself. Activism will however, naturally lead to a faster rate of socio-cultural progress and convergence of thought worlds, and must be encouraged subject to other constraints and limitations.

Three-layer model for the study of thought worlds

We also propose the following three-layer model for the study of thought worlds either at an individual level or at the level of any group:

The Inner Biological Layer: We believe that the innermost layer is the Biological layer, and this is largely culture-neutral. However, biology may influence culture indirectly. This is not due to Biology itself, but a perceived differentiating factor which is essentially cultural, not Biological, though influenced by Biology or quasi-biological factors such as ethnicity. For example, Blacks may want to retain their own cultural identity in the USA, and may sometimes view themselves in opposition to whites. Thus, a true cultural integration may never take place, and a Cultural Anthropologist must always keep this in mind.

The Middle Layer or the Cultural Layer: This is the layer at which Thought worlds reside, and must be probed by the Cultural Anthropologist using in-depth techniques such as prolonged case studies and panel studies.

The Outer layer or the Superficial Layer: The outer layer determines how an individual attempts to interact with the world at large. The individual sub-consciously tries to keep his behavior culture neutral in most cases, through a process of Cultural Adjustment. This is done usually to secure his cultural acceptability. However, there may be exceptions to this rule. The implications of this are rich. Thought worlds cannot be probed at a superficial level, and a Cultural Anthropologist must keep this in mind always.

In sum, the middle layer or the Cultural layer can be impacted by the inner layer or the Biological layer, and the outer layer or the Superficial layer can be impacted by the middle layer, though never the other way around.

Worldviews

Another interesting concept is that of a worldview. A worldview may be defined as a fundamental cognitive orientation of an individual or a group of individuals in a society or a society as a whole encompassing the whole of the individual's or society's knowledge and points of view. However, the concept of worldview is largely irrelevant for the purposes of our study, and is only mentioned in passing. This is because of the following reasons:

- (a) Worldviews are merely subsets of thought worlds as they incorporate those elements of thought worlds which possess an external orientation or those that can be defined in relation to the external environment.
- (b) Worldviews are shaped by thought worlds and not the other way around.
- (c) Changes that are effected to thought worlds will result in corresponding changes to worldviews making them as such superfluous and redundant for the purposes of our study.

However, a Cultural Anthropologist may still wish to ascertain worldviews of individuals or groups on various cultural components as a part of a study of thought worlds or mind-orientations, and this is therefore still mentioned in passing.

The Ascending Wave Model of Socio-cultural change

We also propose the Ascending Wave Model of socio-cultural Integration. This approach essentially takes a very long-term view of probable socio-cultural trends from the early days of human pre-history. It argues that socio-cultural integration has been taking place at increasing rates ever since humans discovered fire several tens of thousands of years ago, if not much earlier. This epochal even is sometimes traced to periods before the advent of anatomically modern Homo sapiens and may be construed as a seminal event in human history. This discovery may not have happened independently in many parts of the worlds and may have spread though diffusion. The earliest Stone Age tools, the later flake tools and microliths along with percussion and other tool-making techniques may have likewise spread through a process of diffusion. In the earliest times, diffusion may have spread over a geographically limited area, or have been an extremely slow process. In the early days, cultural elements may have spread by virtue of their utility, and there may have been very little glamour, glitz or allure associated with technology. Over a period however, technology may have become less utilitarian. Technology, and other cultural elements may have, over a period in time, become more culture-specific and less culture neutral. Contrarian and rival cultures may also have become more assertive, giving birth to the process of ethno genesis. There may be other economic, military and cultural reactions and backlashes against increasing cultural, social and economic integration resulting in temporary lulls and periods of disintegration or remission, but the forces favouring integration including technological forces will override other forces in the long-term. Even though such forces can show up at frequent periods, they would pale into relative insignificance in relation to forces promoting long-term socio-cultural integration. Examples of the latter would include technological changes. Thus, communism, economic protectionism or embargos and other autarchic measures, would manifest themselves at regular intervals but are washed away by the tide of socio-cultural integration. The process of integration will however not proceed beyond a point, and will then taper off. In other words, while new technologies may present themselves continuously or at an increasing pace, their incremental impact on socio-cultural integration will wane. This essentially is a long-term perspective and not a short-term or a medium-term one. This theory has many implications for cultural studies, and would imply that cultural outliers can be ignored from a purely theoretical perspective i.e. from the realms of theorization.

Inverse relationship between technological progress and marginal impact on culture

The rate of technological progress is likely to increase with the passage of time due to increase in synergies and the creation of technology-enabling and technology-facilitating environments throughout the world. However, the marginal impact of newer technologies on culture is also likely to decrease over time necessitating the augmentation of proactive efforts. Beyond a certain point, cultures may become more or less immune to technological or any external stimulus excepting in rare or specific circumstances. This naturally makes activism much more necessary in the Twenty-first century and beyond.

The rate of Socio-cultural change is inversely proportional to a culture's dominance

The rate of socio-cultural change is inversely proportional to a culture's dominance, and smaller cultures are likely to be swayed more easily by the winds of global change, than more prominent and influencing cultures. Even though prominent and influencing cultures may also be subject to rapid change, changes in such cases tend to be internally- induced and generated. Only in a few cases would more dominant cultures be swayed by less dominant cultures. We had presented this observation as a case for activism in a previous paper.

Focusing on dominant cultures increases the available fulcrum

Focusing on dominant cultures increases the available fulcrum in the hands of the Anthropologist: even minor changes to major or dominant cultures are likely to be propagated to downstream or influenced cultures more easily. Thus, a truly globalized approach is recommended for the Twenty-first century. Activism is a must: but efforts must be suitably and judiciously dispersed to the right degree and the most commodious geographic locations. Fighting the ill-effects of alcohol, tobacco or even colas in the USA is bound to produce a humungous multiplier and a downstream effect and would be well-worth the effort. Compare this with similar efforts in Tanzania, for example to compute the dollar for dollar or hour for hour return on investment.

On the other hand, we must also focus on the low-hanging fruit. Cultures with low mean or median values for example, lend themselves much more easily to change, and therefore a two-pronged approach may be provide optimal return on investment and lead to the best possible results with a minimal effort of time and investment.

Cultural lag denotes the difference in evolution and maturity between material and non-material aspects of a culture. Cultural lag usually arises due to cultural inertia, over-reliance on tradition, lack of social infrastructure, or several other factors. Identifying cultural lag would be a crucial component of proactive change, and focusing on cultural lags can help usher in rapid socio-cultural change.

Internally-induced changes and cultural-area specific changes in the age of globalization

Internally-induced changes and cultural-area specific changes are expected to continue in the age of globalization and play a major role alongside symbiotic-driven changes, and these essentially make up the three levels of socio-cultural change as per our symbiotic approach. However, it may be desirable to lay out some important ground rules at the outset, and they are as follows:

- (a) Internally-induced factors are expected to continue to play a major role in the Twenty-first century and beyond in driving socio-cultural change.
- (b) However, the relative importance of internally-induced factors in driving socio-cultural change is likely to reduce in the short, medium and long term. The rate of reduction will however gradually taper off, and a floor level will be reached. In other words, internally-induced factors will continue to play an important role in driving socio-cultural change into the foreseeable future.
- (c) Cultural area driven changes are also expected to play a major role in driving socio-cultural change but their importance is likely to decline in relative terms in the Twenty-first century and beyond. All observations noted with respect to internally-induced changes are valid here too, but the role played by Cultural area driven changes may be shakier still than internally-induced changes, as these may be more easily neutralized by the forces of globalization than internally-induced changes.

The Vertical-horizontal factors approach

We recommend the Vertical-horizontal factors approach for its simplicity and elegance. This simply involves plotting all Vertical factors, which in layman's language refer to historical factors or historical, cultural or intellectual baggage, and those aspects of a culture that are passed on from generation to generation (These also include environmental and ecological factors) and horizontal factors which refer to changes introduced from other cultures or subcultures or other dimensions of the same culture. In other words, horizontal forces may be generated from either within or outside the culture. Vertical factors may also be referred to as change-inhabiting factors while Horizontal factors may be referred to as change-inducing factors. The key advantage of the Vertical-Horizontal Factors approach is its simplicity and its power. This analysis can be carried out at the level of a culture, sub-culture a dimension, or even a disempowered group of an individual, and a root cause analysis done to identify the causes of slow or retarded change. Cross-cultural analyses and snapshots at different points in time can also be generated.

A low incidence of vertical factors coupled with a high incidence of horizontal factors is representative of a change-conducive environment. In such a case, change-friendly forces override whatever vertical forces are present, easily. A low incidence of vertical factors coupled with a low incidence of horizontal factors on the other hand, produces very little change. Such societies are usually rudderless lacking in initiative, change or direction. A high incidence of vertical factors combined with a low incidence of horizontal factors will produce a society that does not want to or is unwilling or unable to change. Examples of such societies are autarchic or closed societies. On the other hand, societies with a high incidence of vertical and horizontal factors are characterized by a clash in values. While such societies may inevitably change, changes are bound to be painful.

The effects of Vertical factors can however be minimized through proactive measures such as suitable changes to the education system and better social infrastructure. This will reduce the quantum of pain typically associated with social and cultural change.

Vertical-horizontal analysis can also be performed using a lifecycle approach. In this case, all the vertical and horizontal forces an individual is subjected to during his lifetime are identified and the impact on his psyche and mind-orientation assessed. Another potentially useful tool may be Generational analysis which analyzes how cultural traits or attributes are transmitted from generation to generation.

The Vertical-horizontal approach can be used for other downstream analysis. An extremely interesting study in our view would be the study of individuals in autarchic or autarkic societies, and a study of such societies themselves. This study would attempt to answer questions such as:

- (a) Why do people in autarchic societies possess different characteristics from the rest of the world?
- (b) Why are such societies characterized by a limited degree of socio-cultural integration?
- (c) Why are such societies characterized by the presence of dominant personality types?
- (d) Why are such societies characterized by a limited tolerance of dissent?
- (e) Why are such societies characterized by the presence of suppressed identities?

This approach can also be used to study individuals who have grown up in isolation or who have been unduly mollycoddled or cosseted without any exposure to the real-world. This situation will naturally prevent the neutralization of traits and attributes and allow them to develop in variance with accepted or prevalent societal norms. These scenarios are inter-related and are synonymous with unwholesome tendencies. This may be a virgin field, but one with potentially great value for Cultural Anthropology. As Richard L. Roe points out in this connection, "Every society depends on other societies, and with every advance in technology, the interdependency increases. A nation whose citizens are generally ignorant of other peoples in the world, must, to that degree, be impeded in achieving its own goals, for we are in that stage of human history where national affairs cannot be separated from world development."

Culture and its components

Per our approach, an analysis of culture and its components should be carried out as follows, and this would constitute a Cultural Taxonomy much in the manner of Carl Linnaeus' taxonomy of species:

Each culture has subcultures

Subcultures may be defined on the basis of ethnicity, social classes, occupation, religion, geography etc, or on a combination of one or more of these factors. These are sometimes referred to as dimensions of culture.

Each Culture or sub-culture has subcategories or subclasses

A list of standard subcategories or subclasses can be constructed and can be attempted to be used across cultures. This list of subsystems can be expanded as more and more cultures are analyzed, and the expanded list can then be used for a restudy of previously assessed cultures. This will eventually and ideally generate a list of standard and universal subclasses.

Examples of subcategories within a culture include language, symbols, religion, music, art, drama, cinema, folklore, marriage, cuisine, other aspects of tradition etc. Culture also typically consists of

material items such as cars, trucks which etc. form an inalienable part of every culture. While building a taxonomy, all dimensions of a culture such as values, norms, philosophies, principles, dogmas, ideas, beliefs, attitudes, symbols, traditions, ideologies, and artifacts should be included.

Each subsystem has components

For a meaningful and a structured taxonomy, we propose that subcategories be further sub-divided into components. These will be analogous to various classes under each subcategory. For example, we can have a multitude of components under language such as language policy, teaching methods, teacher competence, student evaluation etc. Under cuisine, we can have focus on health, focus on hygiene, nutritional balance etc. Material items include cars, trucks, tractors, locomotives, aero planes, rockets, computers, telephones, mobile phones etc. Under kinship, we can have subcategories such as attitudes towards consanguine marriages, attitudes towards class, caste and village endogamous or exogamous marriages, attitudes towards premarital sex, attitudes towards dowry, attitudes towards relatives, attitudes towards child-rearing etc. While identifying components, both comprehensiveness and atomicity need to be taken into account. In other words, components should be defined in such a way that no further division is possible.

Each component has attributes

Each component can have a list of attributes. Each attribute should be capable of being assessed either quantitatively or qualitatively. Attributes for our purpose, may also be known as qualities or characteristics. Attributes can be adjudged by means of suitably-designed questionnaires or other evaluation methods such as self-assessment or third-party evaluation. Attributes should be identified at a granular level such that questionnaires can be efficiently generated from them. Attributes can also be rated in absolute or relative terms which will result either in absolute ratings or rankings. Relative methods stem from the concept of cultural relativism. According to this concept, no culture is innately superior or inferior to the other. Each culture has its own uniqueness, each shaped by its own history. Attributes may also include intangible and unquantifiable attributes, or those that cannot be quantified with precision or certainty. According to Bodley, culture is made up of what people think, what they do, and the material products they produce. A.L Kroeber categorized aspects of culture into two broad categories i.e. ethos and eidos. Ethos refers to the values of a culture such as aspirations and beliefs, and these must also be included in an analysis. Clyde Kluckhohn also differentiated between the explicit and implicit values of a culture. Explicit values of a culture were those that could be easily perceived, expressed, and identified by sensory organs. However, implicit values included elements such as motivations and impulses. As per our approach, an analysis of attributes leads to the identification of 'Cultural traits' which are assemblages or aggregations of sentiments or manifested actions. Traits can be combined to form patterns, and patterns may be further classified into ideal patterns or actual patterns.

Comparative methods can also be used as such methods have been common in Anthropological studies from the time of E B Tylor in 1889. The 'Salient features' associated with each cultures can also be identified before carrying out a more detailed exercise as this will have a bearing of the taxonomy

arrived at, and will throw hints on what areas to focus on. A high level assessment of the Strengths, Weaknesses and constraints of a given culture may be carried out as a precursor to a more detailed assessment. Likewise, third-party assessment reports may also be scrutinized and utilized as a precursor to a more detailed assessment. Preliminary and unstructured 'gut feel' approaches may also have some utility, but must be subsequently vetted and ratified with empirical data. Carrying out fieldwork to experience a culture first-hand would be an essential pre-requisite and mandatory. Fieldwork has been known from the days of Franz Boas and Alfred C. Haddon who carried out expeditions to British Columbia and Torres straits respectively. Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, A.R Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Pritchard also carried out extensive fieldwork. These expeditions were in stark contrast to the works of other Anthropologists such as James Frazer, which were based on secondary sources of information. This is not however, to discount the role of armchair anthropologists who often combine data from multiple sources into cogent and coherent hypotheses. A.C Haddon who participated in an expedition to the Torres Straits (1934) acknowledged the role and the contributions of both fieldworkers and armchair anthropologists to anthropology. Methods used in fieldwork have been many, but one of the more common techniques is the participant-observation method which was popularized by Bronislaw Malinowski.

It would also be necessary to identify ideal cultural traits that can be applied across cultures. However, actual behaviour observed on the field may be at variance with expected or ideal behaviour, and it would be necessary to carry out a gap assessment between the two and perform a root cause analysis for the deviations. This would be followed by an action plan for remediation and eventual course-corrections. Some traits can be sub-divided into 'good' and the 'bad', but some cannot, and it would be necessary for any researcher to keep this in mind. Neo-centrist approaches can be used to identify the 'desirable' and the 'undesirable', but looking at issues from a long-term perspective, or analyzing the long-term consequences of any proposition.

An analysis may then be carried out of the traits with low ranking, followed by a root cause analysis examining the underlying causes of a low rating or ranking. This analysis must then be understood in conjunction with the 'Enablers' and 'Core drivers' discussed in our paper. An alternative approach may be to assess the attributes at two different points in time to assess the rate of change. Strategies to augment this can then be put in place.

Researchers have also attempted to break up cultures into traits and assign these developmental sequences, or develop generalized heuristic techniques that could be used to study other cultures. Attempts were also made by Emile Durkheim, George Peter Murdock, Claude Levi Strauss, Donald Brown and others to analyze the universals common across cultures. Murdock also set up the Human Relations Area Files or HRAF in which common categories of cultures were filed together. The objective of this was to collect ethnographic information from all over the world. Murdock and Douglas R. White also introduced the concept of "Standard cross-cultural sample" by analyzing 186 sample cultures from Africa, the Circum-Mediterranean, East Eurasia, the Insular Pacific, North America, South America that could be used as a benchmark for other cultures and analyzing variables such as money, water transport etc. These efforts led to the compilation of the 'World Ethnographic Sample'. Another approach recommends breaking up a culture into trait-complexes, and further into traits. Ruth Benedict believed

that culture was made of many patterns which were bound together in a harmonious whole. Such patterns are known as cultural patterns, and bestow upon culture a distinct individuality. In this connection, she famously said “No man ever looks at the world with pristine eyes. He sees it edited by a definite set of customs and institutions and ways of thinking.” M.E Opler recommended summative principles in culture called themes. Themes are general motivations responsible for behavioural patterns of members of a society, are similar to, but more elastic than Ruth Benedict’s cultural patterns and crucial to an understanding of cultural structure. Claude Levi Strauss broke up words and cultural sections into phonemes, morphemes, etc. in the search for the underlying reality of the human mind.³⁶

37 38

Another interesting idea is that of Memetics which is used to represent the different units of a culture which aid in cultural transmission e.g. ways of dressing, cooking etc. This idea was popularized by Richard Dawkins in the 1970’s. Memetics proposes that ideas, skills, practices, and so on, are entities that make copies of themselves and are used to propagate cultural traits, much like genes in evolutionary biology. Memetics involves breaking down of a culture or a sub-culture into discrete and manageable units. This approach, which is similar to some of the proposals in our paper, can be even used to construct the broad framework and the superstructure of a given culture by breaking it down into logical and inter-related sub-components.^{39 40 41}

Personality attributes or traits

In addition, we may also attempt to identify personality attributes or traits in relation to a given culture. These would represent either the mean or most common i.e. modal values of people in a specific culture. Various types of meaningful analyses are possible including the computation of mean values for a particular culture, analysis of value distributions, dimensional analyses, computation of metrics such as standard deviations, assessment of outliers, and an analysis of drift over a period in time. Such an analysis must also capture cultural attitudes and the popular sentiment of a culture, particularly those geared towards cultural adaptation and assimilation of new traits, and express them in relatively tangible terms. Analysis across dimensions such as age would also constitute another useful analysis, with major downstream benefits. A combination of these two approaches would, in our view, ensure that the Anthropologist has a grip of any particular culture. This is a seemingly innocuous yet powerful multi-pronged strategy that seeks to map a culture completely. For greater efficacy, taxonomies must be constructed correctly and attributes and traits comprehensively laid out.

For this purpose, positive attributes or traits may include:

36 Ember, Melvin, *Evolution of the Human Relations Area Files in Cross-Cultural Research*, 1997

37Divalle, William, *Pre-Coded Variables for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample from World Cultures. Volumes I & II*. York College, CUNY, Spring 2000.

38 Benedict, Ruth (1959). *An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict*. Edited by Margaret Mead. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

39Dawkins, R. (1976), *The selfish gene*. Oxford University Press

40 *Modernization of the structure of societies*, Princeton University Press, 1966

41 Benedict, R. (1946). *The chrysanthemum and the sword: Patterns of Japanese culture*. London, England: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited

- Honesty
- Sincerity
- Truthfulness
- Capability for hard-work
- Obedience
- Optimism
- Creativity
- Dynamism
- Future-orientation
- Discipline
- Methodical approach
- Punctuality
- Perfectionism
- Affection towards others
- <<open list>>

Negative attributes or traits may include

- Pessimism
- Cynicism
- Jealousy
- Ego
- Snobbishness
- Greed
- Past-orientation
- Contempt or derision toward others
- <<open list>>

In such cases, actual observed values may be recorded using the subjective rating method on either a numerical or numerical basis to pre-empt bias. Cross-cultural values may also be obtained for meaningful analysis, along with prior period data. In some situations, it may be preferred to adopt raking instead of independent rating. Idealized values and realistically attainable values may also be recorded to permit comparisons and to serve as a benchmark and a springboard to action. In any case, these values will not only be impacted by that culture's value systems, but also by mind-orientations, whether individual or modal.

Universals of Cultural Change

Cultural Universals are those elements, traits or patterns of culture that are common to all cultures across the world, and possess universal applicability. These are sometimes referred to as Anthropological Universals and Human universals, and were discussed by Emile Durkheim, George Murdock, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Donald Brown and others. Most Anthropologists opine that Cultural Universal do exist, at least at the level of a Cultural Category. However, bona fide exceptions may exist.

For example, marriages are uncommon among the Nu community of China. Instead, we find here the concept of live-in relationships known as *sese*. While incest taboos are near universal, the Tallensi of Ghana does not subscribe to this in toto. There may be customs that are region specific. For example, in North India *Sapinda* and *Gotra* rules are common, as are also specific norms for village, caste and family endogamy and exogamy. Some other customs may be unique to certain communities. For example, Marriage by intrusion is known among the Birhor and Ho of Bihar and the Kamars of Madhya Pradesh, but among few else. In a few other cases, a classification of kinship is possible. A common classification is based on descent i.e. Matrilineal descent, Patrilineal descent or Ambilineal descent. Another less common classification is that based on the relative status of bride-givers and bride-takers. Claude Levi Strauss analyzed a situation where bride-givers had a higher status than bride-receivers, but this is not common in most parts of India. Thus, when we talk about Cultural Universals, we talk in terms of near-universals because bona fide exceptions always do exist. These exceptions may be trivial and irrelevant for categorization or decision-making. Thus, the categories involved here are universal, near-universal, situational, or rare.

We will also introduce on this basis, the concept of 'Universals of Cultural Change', or from our analogy, 'Near-universals of Cultural change', the difference between the two being almost irrelevant for the purposes of our study. This approach seeks to identify patterns that will replicate themselves everywhere, or almost everywhere, with minor or no exceptions. For example, mobile phones are ubiquitous and preponderant throughout the world. In this case, exceptions are so few in number that they deserve to be classified as exceptions. On the other hand, automobiles are all-pervasive today, but are confined only to the elites in most societies. Thus, any study must be accompanied by a dimensional analysis or an analysis based on suitable parameters such as age, gender, income level etc. These may be defined as Universals or near-universals with respect to a particular category. Some patterns of change manifest themselves differently or uniquely depending on the Cultural Area in question. For, example, Indian cuisine is relatively popular in the Middle East, but not in Japan. It may also be instructive to study unique or revelatory cases that may throw-up vital clues for theorization or model building. A classic example here can be the popularization of Japanese sushi bars in the USA, but not in India. Some results may also run contrary to anticipated or expected patterns. For example, the widespread popularity of Colas almost all over the world may not have been predicted a century ago. Some changes may propagate well in the short-term, some in the medium-term, and some in the long-term. Some changes require a generational change, some do not. For example, the acceptance of spicy foods in the USA has been typically been a slow process, and may be associated with generational change. The pace of socio-cultural change may also be dependent on, or vary based on the adaptation or prevalence of specific technologies, and this can become another topic of study. What effect did the introduction of smart phones have on different categories of culture in different parts of the world? What impact is the possible success of Google pixel buds likely to have on specific aspects of different cultures in different parts of the world? Some cultural changes may also require attitudinal changes, and some do not, and this may form yet another focus area of study.

The rulebook may also vary substantially based on cultural category or sub-category. Thus, the rules that apply with respect to music may not apply to literature, or the rule that apply to religion may not apply

to folklore. Similarly, rules that hold with respect to spiritual functions or religion may not hold with respect to political functions of religion and vice versa. On the other hand, we will also find that some studies can be best carried out at a very high-level only, and yet yield rich and vital clues. A classic example here is a study the differential rate of socio-cultural change or perceived socio-cultural change in Coastal Andhra Pradesh, Rayalaseema and Telangana and the reasons thereof.

Another possible study can be the study of the spread of traits contingent on certain pre-conditions. For example, in the days of yore, new elements may have been imbibed strictly for their utilitarian value. This may no longer be the case with an increase in societal and cultural sophistication; the proportion of allure or glitz required in any marketing mix as a pre-condition for acceptance may steadily increase over a period in time before leveling off. Any forecast also need to be integrated with other forecasting techniques. A knowledge of techniques such as barometric techniques, judgmental techniques based on a sound knowledge of a particular culture as well as a knowledge of concepts used in Economics such as the theory of Diminishing Marginal Utility, and a distinction between inferior goods and superior goods can help given the fact that such analyses will be applied for both formalist and substantive economies. Besides, a knowledge other concepts such as Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs and other concepts used in behavioral economics and human psychology can help too. However, for the purposes of our study, predictions must be neutral to non-sociological factors such as economic trends, and even if such factors are considered, they must be quantified and shown separately. In some cases, non-sociological factors may be an integral part of any study, but they must be dependent on some sociological condition. For example, higher standards of living may result from globalization and this may result in an increase for the demand of goods.

Results can never be strictly anticipated; exceptions will always present themselves with unflinching regularity. That is why Cultural Anthropology needs to be a heuristic exercise based on the sensory experience and other third-party studies with exceptions also carefully documented and analyzed. It also needs to be a nomothetic or a rule-building exercise based on a bottom-up approach and an inductive exercise as well. Thus, any deductive approaches or generalizations may throw up erroneous results and be fraught with unhealthy long-term consequences for Cultural Anthropology. These approaches will help define 'Universal of Cultural Change' and 'Near-Universals of Cultural Change' in addition to more specific guidelines and principles, and are from our perspective, as important as a study and identification of Cultural Universals themselves.

Base Culture, Current Culture and Ideal Cultural attributes

We also introduce the concepts of Base Culture, Current Culture and Ideal Culture here, as these would be indispensable to a long-term study of culture. In this connection, a base culture refers to a culture, or a snapshot of it with all its attendant attributes and metrics at the start of a long-term study or a stipulated time-frame. There are no other major conceptual differences between Base Culture and Current Culture, as Current Culture may form the basis of another study. However, where remediation is involved, it may form a part of an Experimental research design such as Before-after experiment design or Ex-post facto experiment design. Ideal cultural attributes are the attributes that are targeted for achievement and are the goal or the yardstick of a remediation program. While identifying ideal cultural

attributes, it is necessary to bear in mind what can be realistically achieved in a given geographical or cultural context.

While many in-depth and multi-dimensional studies have undoubtedly been carried out, including those involving intensive field studies in alien contexts, there is a dearth and paucity of long-term cultural studies, leave alone structured studies measuring cross-cultural impact in real-world situations, and this may be in large part due to careerism and the impracticality associated with such studies. Another potential problem associated with such studies is the potential loss of objectivity associated with knowledge transfer, and the need to rely on secondary material for many such endeavours.

Nonetheless, there are some landmark and path-breaking studies in the regard, and these should serve as a benchmark for future Anthropologists. M.N. Srinivas was based in Karnataka, India and carried out ground-breaking studies on Westernization, Sanskritization, Hinduization, and the interfaces between castes, besides long-term studies on changing identities in an Indian context.⁴²

M.N Srinivas pioneered the Corporate Mobility approach of the study of Sanskritization, Brahminization and Hinduization in India. He studied the process of cultural mobility in Coorg in Karnataka in South India. He also studied the possibility for changes in caste equations and caste relationships besides a study of caste mobility within the framework of the Indian caste system through hypergamy and other self-initiated or society-sanctioned measures. He studied cultural changes among the lower castes initiated as a part of social and caste mobility. These included changes to food, dress, customs, festivals and rituals besides abstinence from liquor and alcohol, besides an emphasis on newly-embraced values such as an importance to higher education and the like. He discussed the difference between 'Brahminization' and 'Sanskritization', and discussed mobility between other caste groups such as the desire among certain tribes in Central India to be identified as Kshatriyas. Srinivas also studied the process of cultural contact among different castes. For example, it is common for lower castes to emulate upper castes in manners of dress and customs, while upper castes move forward embracing westernization or modernity. Thus, from our perspective, cultural integration occurred on the basis of 'push modes' (This was how, for example, Aryanization proceeded in Ancient India according to most acculturation models) and 'pull modes' (The perceived superiority of cultural elements associated with upper castes), as well as 'subconscious adoption' (Over a period in time).

M.N Srinivas also studied the process of westernization and modernization while emphasizing the differences between the two. The process of westernization originally started with the British East India Company and the process of Macaulization of Indian education which was initiated to serve the needs of the British rulers but later propagated as was entrenched due to vested interests. Here again, push modes, pull modes and sub-conscious adoption were involved as Western values such as equality, liberty, fraternity, emphasis of freedom of thought and expression, humanism, liberalism, individuality and rationality had some appeal across cultural boundaries. This eventually led to what we today call

⁴² Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India M. N Srinivas 1952

'mimicry', a term that was much more recently popularized by the post-colonial thinker Homi K. Bhabha. However, westernization did not always equate with modernization owing to the decadence often associated with such cultures. The rise of Japan, and in more recent years, China, has amply illustrated that nations are willing to embrace modernity without sacrificing traditional values and often seek out a healthy amalgam of the two. Thus, the major features of modernity such as empathy, mobility and high participation (Lerner 1958) can be attained without sacrificing their own traditional values of which there may be justifiably proud. As observed by S. C Dube "There is no standard model of modernization and no fixed path of its attainment. Developing societies can adopt a mode of their own choice and are free to chalk out their own path for its realization."⁴³

Arjun Appadurai has also been interested in globalization and multi-culturalism, particularly the movements of people and the emergence of diaspora that can create new relationships or lead to the emergence of hybridized cultures. This phenomenon has, according to him, fundamentally changed the way the world operates, and has led to the propagation of non-western values and traits worldwide. This has led to true multi-culturalism as opposed to older terms such as pluralism. Multi-culturalism not only entails a tolerance for diversity, but also a healthy *mélange* of cultures and the emergence of a healthy cocktail emphasizing the best of different worlds. This is more in tune with our doctrine of activism and remediation, and the Theory of general positive drift of traits and attributes as well. As observed by Gurupreet Mahajan, "A concern for equality and non-discrimination of people of minorities links multi-culturalism to democracy in a big way. The single most important value of democracy is non-discrimination. Thus, the concept of multi-culturalism not only contributes to the idea of democratization and non-discrimination but also provides safeguards against majoritarianism in the garb of democracy."⁴⁴

Cultural Hybridity

From our perspective, Cultural Hybridity arises due to an intermingling of two or more cultures within a cultural unit, often within a specific context or situation as opposed to a more general symbiosis taking place across space and time. Hybridized cultures do possess their own attributes and traits, and may in turn contribute to the ongoing process of Cultural symbiosis and transculturation. Hybridized cultures have arisen, for example due to the presence of Indian and Chinese diaspora in the USA, and this has triggered important changes to American culture in the domains of cuisine, art and literature with such changes gradually entering the mainstream due to ever-increasing popular acceptance. There is another type of hybridization constantly taking place without the movements of people. Examples of the latter include the incorporation of elements of Western pop into Indian music. From our perspective however, this may be studied as an inalienable part and parcel of the overall process of cultural symbiosis. Again, from our perspective the core differentiating factor between the former and the latter is a robustly-defined cultural unit which still carries legitimacy in a post-globalized context. In other words, the process of intermingling of cultures within the boundaries of a well-conceived cultural unit is endowed with synergetic forces that are absent in other symbiotic scenarios. The crucial differentiator is geographical proximity which arises from different cultures sharing the same geographical space. We

⁴³ Contemporary India and Its Modernization S C Dube (1974)

⁴⁴ The Multicultural Path: Issues of Diversity and Discrimination in a Democracy, Sage, Delhi, 2002

may refer to this as the “General theory of Geography in Socio-cultural change”. This approach would seek to isolate inter alia changes that can only occur subject to the existence of a common geographical space from those that are not biased to its existence.⁴⁵

The idea of Cultural Hybridity has been proposed by several theorists such as the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin who introduced concepts such as the Carnavalesque and Multiglossia. The term Cultural Hybridity is also associated with Homi K. Bhabha who was greatly responsible for its popularization and widespread adoption. Needless to say, the connotation of this term is somewhat different in our model and depends on the commonality of socio-cultural space. Hybridization may, within the context of a cultural unit, trigger polyphony and multi-vocality eventually precipitating a race for the survival of the fittest and leading to a betterment of traits and attributes.

Cultural Elitism

Cultural Elitism refers to the role played by the elites or elitist institutions in propagating socio-cultural change. This is typical to most societies or cultures and is traditionally associated with internally-induced change. The Scottish enlightenment was led, for example by Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson, and their French counterparts were Voltaire and Rousseau. In some cases, seminal works such as the Denis Diderot’s and Jean le Rond d’Alembert’s *Encyclopedia* which was published between 1751 and 1772 in twenty-eight volumes, Montesquieu’s ‘*Spirit of the Laws*’, and to a lesser extent, Immanuel Kant’s ‘*Critique of pure reason*’, played a role in the propagation of new ideas and ideals, just the printing press by Gutenberg had done a few centuries earlier. Key political institutions like the British East India Company and the Royal Navy were also cultural institutions because of the cultural influence they came to exercise both in their native territories and beyond. The process of Cultural Elitism continues to this day, through various newer channels: soft power and grey power are the most common manifestations of Cultural Elitism, through political institutions, quasi-political institutions and the all-pervasive internet play a role. Cultural change usually involves mass mobilization, but there is a nexus between the two, and any assessment would involve a study of the quantum and general direction of intellectual and cultural elitism. Some institutions may be non-positive necessitating the augmentation of remediation efforts. Examples of these may be religious or quasi-religious institutions stymieing socio-cultural change. We may also refer to the ten enablers of socio-cultural change proposed by us in a previous paper.^{46 47}

Identity types

Last, but not the least, we also need to discuss identity types. The following are the three commonly defined identity types in a culture or a sub-culture:

⁴⁵ Allatson, Paul (2007), *Key Terms in Latino/a Cultural And Literary Studies*, Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell

⁴⁶ Luchte, James. *Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007

⁴⁷ Montesquieu: *Spirit of the Laws*. Eds. Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989

Legitimizing identity: This type of identity refers to the identity associated with a dominant group in a society. These identities usually seek to maintain religious, caste or communal harmony without disturbing the status quo. However, such identities may be neutral to the feelings of resistance identities and may oppose project identities. In India, this identity may be associated with dominant caste groups, and may have produced movement such as Hindutva. Such identities however sometimes produce beneficial effects for society and may be associated with the build-up of patriotic or nationalistic sentiments given their general access to education, knowledge and technology vis-à-vis other groups, and their propensity for homogenization.

Resistance identities: These types of identities are created by individuals who are devalued, stigmatized or shamed by a particular cultural order or setup. Such identities may actively rebel against the existing status quo, and seek to establish a new order. This group may manifest popular undercurrents of anger and may demonstrate aggressiveness and rebelliousness. Examples of such identities were that of Dalits in India, and Blacks and coloreds in Apartheid-era South Africa, all of which produced popular emancipatory movements and a transformation from 'serie' to 'groups en fusion'. This is similar to the Marxist concept of 'class-in-itself' to 'class-for-itself'. The latter is associated with indignation, action and change as opposed to resignation and the acceptance of status quo. (Castells, 1997)

Project identities: This type of identity arises when a new kind of identity (which may also be arrived at due to popular resistance or a negotiated compromise) is sought to be forged. (Castells, 1997) This identity attempts, and in some cases, successfully achieves a change in social structure.

These identities interface in networked societies to produce altogether new paradigms. In due course, such identities may lose their power or distinctive attributes, but this may not happen quickly or easily. One outcome may be a "Yoyo type change" which was discussed in our paper. For resistance identities, this may proceed from submissiveness to belligerence, and then stabilization. For legitimizing identities, it may proceed from dominance, resistance to change in status quo, acceptance of change, and readjustment.

Cultural Remediation

The key stumbling block to the idea of Cultural Remediation comes from the absence of a satisfactory definition of the term 'ideal culture'. An inspiration may come from the term 'Utopia' which was coined by Sir Thomas More in his 1516 book "Utopia" and describes an imaginary community or society that possesses highly desirable or nearly perfect qualities and meets the needs and aspirations of its citizens. Such idealized and romanticized notions apart, there is no real-world equivalent of such a society, and the concept remains confined to the realms of the imaginary.

There are several scenarios here. In the first scenario, the values or the ideals or a dominant culture are allowed to propagate and dominate without hindrance. This is equated with a laissez-faire scenario, and would be the logical and inevitable culmination if no activism is initiated or allowed to be carried out. In the second scenario, an ideal culture or a set of ideal cultures is consciously chosen and adopted as the benchmark or the guiding principle for all activism, often those with similar characteristics. In another scenario, ideals may otherwise be chosen and would be dependent on non-controversial principles or

the firm knowledge of facts. If the philosophy of Neo-centrism is adopted, an ideal should lead to betterment or cause minimal harm in the long-run, and a purely long-term view should be adopted, with short-term considerations made subservient to, or reconciled with long-term ones. For example, we can irrefutably establish that tobacco is always addictive and injurious to health or that the burning of lignite coal is environmentally-destructive. In some cases, people may be interviewed to find out what they want, and this can be used as a stepping stone for action. In another scenario, cultural bottlenecks are identified and eliminated with the hope that they will eventually lead to the betterment of societies. In yet another scenario, certain parameters may be identified for remediation, such as the ones described below, with the hope that they will produce a ripple effect in society. These are known as Cultural orientations unlike the Mind-orientations described earlier, and we propose the Seven Cultural Orientations as described below:

Past-orientation versus future-orientation

Past-orientation and Future-orientation is the relative emphasis placed by a society or culture on its past and future. Future-orientation is associated with characteristics such as planning, foresight, personality development directly and with other characteristics such as individualism indirectly. An over-emphasis on the past may lead to a vindication or exoneration of the cultural baggage of the past and may impede cultural progress, both material and non-material. Per the Vertical-horizontal model described in this paper, globalization leads to the multiplication of horizontal factors, thereby weakening vertical factors. We must also bear in mind the fact that Western societies have also been typically future-oriented since the age of Enlightenment. Thus, globalization and modernization gradually make more conservative societies future-oriented as well.

Inward-looking cultures versus outward cultures

Some cultures are undoubtedly more outward-looking than others, and many have traditionally or quintessentially been so. This may also be referred to as the internal or external orientation of society. The presence or absence of Cultural Elitism, key political and cultural institutions as well as the level of physical, educational and social infrastructure and the general intellectualism play a role in determining the Internal or external orientation of society. Remediation may be brought about by means of suitable changes in the education system through suitably-designed pedagogical techniques or an improvement in social or physical infrastructure. A change in a society's orientation will increase its cultural receptivity and bring in attendant benefits.

A Xenophobic culture is one that harbors a deep-rooted suspicion or aversion towards other cultures as well-demonstrated pan-cultural trait. In some situations, Xenophobia may manifest itself in other forms such as condescension or a desire to maintain cultural or racial purity. Xenophobia may arise due to several reasons, one of them being ethnocentrism, though there may be other causes such as autarchy (autarky), cultural isolation or ignorance. This is strongly co-related with inward orientation, and often with past-centrism. At the other end of the spectrum, xenocentrism may be observed, though this may not necessarily be accompanied with positive consequences, and a culture may swing like a pendulum from one extreme to another. This may also be triggered by a popular disenfranchisement or

disenchantment with a situation generating a yoyo effect as a precursor to normalization or stabilization (Yoyo theory of Socio-cultural change). Examples of Xenophobia have included the Islamophobia of the recent decades and Anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany. Xenophobia has also been attributed to mid-twentieth century Japanese culture by some analysts and the more recent Hindutva movement of India.

Rigid versus flexible cultures

Cultures may also be classified into rigid and flexible. Flexible cultures are often those with less cultural and intellectual baggage, and are amenable to change. Cultures which are flexible in some respects, may be rigid in some others and it may be necessary to perform an analysis at the level of a cultural elements. An example to illustrate this point may be the Republican Party's penchant for laissez-faire economics and neo-liberalism and right-of-centre policies in the USA.

Individualistic versus collective cultures

Some cultures like the USA may be more individualist, while some others like the erstwhile and the now-defunct USSR emphasized collectivism of thought and statism. Most others can be placed in a continuum between these two extremes, and the merits and demerits of both points of view are still debatable.

Material and non-material orientation

Some cultures like the USA may be more materialistic, while some other developed countries like Japan much less so. Most others can be placed in a continuum between a material orientation and various non-material orientations such as religious or spiritual orientation, and the merits and demerits of different types of orientation are still debatable.

Contentment versus innovation

Some cultures do not wish to effect changes to the status quo, while some others pursue a relentless quest for perfection and changes in the status quo. This metric would indicate a culture's appetite for innovation, and would be commensurate with its innovation indices. This metric may, however be affected by a culture's past or future orientation as well, and in some respects, all the six are inter-related.

Rational-orientation versus Non Rational-orientation

In a rational society, less reliance is placed on myths, legends, superstitions etc. It is expected that all non-rational societies will evolve into rational societies in due course, and the Cultural Anthropologist has a core and a crucial role to play here.

These are the only Seven basic Cultural orientations that we propose from a Cultural Anthropological perspective. Other orientations such as "Achievement orientation" are not strictly Cultural orientations given that they would be determined by the above six orientations, and do not strictly operate at the level of a culture. In addition, they are naturally too ambiguous to be categorized as an individual

orientation. Therefore, these may be categorized as traits or attributes, and suitably monitored. Thus, our approach is fully honed for a multi-variate analysis. A change in one orientation can bring about changes in other orientations, and thus, a multi-pronged approach may be required. However, other approaches such as Hofstede's cultural dimensions may also be used. This approach involves a study of dimensions such as Power Distance Index (the extent to which the less powerful members of organizations and institutions (like the family) accept and expect that power is distributed unequally), Individualism vs. collectivism (degree to which people in a society are integrated into groups), Uncertainty avoidance index (a society's tolerance for ambiguity in which people embrace or avert the unexpected, unknown, or deviation from the status quo), Masculinity vs. femininity (masculinity is a preference for achievement, heroism, assertiveness and material rewards for success. Femininity is a preference for cooperation, modesty, caring for the weak and quality of life), Long-term orientation vs. short-term orientation and Indulgence vs. restraint (This dimension is essentially a measure of happiness and whether or not simple joys are fulfilled). Shalom Schwartz, an Israeli researcher, proposes six cultural values in three pairs, which are Embeddedness (High value to tradition) versus Autonomy (Individuals have high control over their choices), Mastery (success through individual action) versus Harmony (People ready to accept their place in the world) and Hierarchy (Emphasis on roles) versus Egalitarianism (Emphasis on equality). Moreover, our approach is dependant on a subjective analysis, with little scope for numerical quantification.⁴⁸

We also propose the 'General Theory of Hierarchy of Mind-orientations' wherein Mind-orientations (and the diversity of mind-orientations or the tolerance for mind-orientations) can be equated to societal complexity. It may be instructive to theorize on the increasing diversification of mind-orientations (and the attendant increase in inter-dependencies) with the increasing complexity of society. This must also be accompanied by society-specific studies and a necessary co-relation with Cultural Ecology and career and economic opportunities as any diversification of mind-orientations will not only call for innovative thinking but also an expansion of economic opportunities. We are tempted to relate this to a vortex or an outward spiral driven by consciously-induced change that will further induce irrevocable and irreversible cultural complexity, and increased diversity and complexity of thought.

In addition, the following scenarios may also call for remediation:

Cultural Bottlenecks: Cultural bottlenecks such as the over-sized presence of religious institutions in certain societies may be detrimental to the process of cultural advancement or prove antithetical to the process of cultural integration.

Undesirable traits: The widespread presence of specific undesirable traits and characteristics in societies may warrant a root cause analysis and remediation. For example, Cora du bois observed that the Alorese of the Dutch East Indies were uncouth and slovenly, lacking any direction in life. This was not wholly without justified reason: the culprit being the less than ideal child rearing practices as a result of their mothers pre-occupation with work.

⁴⁸ Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA : Sage

Low mean or median values for traits or attributes: Low mean or median values for assessed traits or attributes may warrant course-corrections as well, particularly if these are well below the means observed for similar cultures.

Uniform versus differentiated Cultures: Some cultures may be egalitarian, some others not. Some cultures may be differentiated on the basis of age, religion, gender etc. The GINI index is often used to represent the wealth distribution among the citizens of a country. According to some studies, the inequality between rich countries and poor countries increased steadily till the 1990's, but since then the position has been somewhat reversed. Many developing countries also likewise improved their score due to the rapid rise of middle classes and declines in the number of poor. This appears to lend credence to the theory that Cultural integration at a global level has had an impact on Socio-cultural integration within cultures (This is because factors promoting inter-cultural integration have tended to promote intra-cultural integration too), but a more detailed analysis must be based on dimension-level metrics. Intra-cultural integration may produce other tangible benefits such as the annihilation of social barriers, and may induce welcome attitudinal changes, changes in human behavior and end all other kinds of social and cultural maladaptations. This is a process that needs to be thoroughly and scientifically understood.

Multi-dimensional Analysis

A multi-dimensional analysis is also necessary, and the effects of culture (along with its ten enablers), sub-cultures, components, sub-components, the different dimensions of culture, its individuals, their mind-orientations, discrete and aggregates values of traits and attributes, thought-worlds, the effects of other cultures as well as personality types and their effects of all these factors on each other must be analysed through the horizons of time and space to derive laws and assist in the process of rule-building. This may be a time-consuming process but ultimately well-worth the investment of resources, and will in turn trigger a plethora of downstream uses and applications a few of which are described below. Studies must however be necessarily simple enough to be understood and focussed enough to serve their objective well and without clutter, and this assessment must be made in each context or situation to formulate an ideal approach.

Applications of a Symbiotic study of Socio cultural change

The following are the potential benefits and applications of a Symbiotic study of Socio cultural change:

1. Cultural analysis, predictive modelling and long-term cultural analysis

One of the key benefits of a Symbiotic approach to socio-cultural change is that it presents new tools that can be of great utility in any socio cultural analysis. This approach combines the best-of-breed approaches such as unilinear models of cultural evolution, multilinear models of cultural evolution, historical particularism and culture and personality studies in the context of the changed circumstances of the Twenty-first century along with other all-new tools and techniques that can be of great use in cultural analysis and cultural modelling. It also permits predictive modelling based on the techniques presented and is particularly of value in long-term predictive analysis, and

complements existing cultural models to achieve a greater degree of precision and accuracy. Dimensional analysis can also be performed with further implications for cultural modelling and predictive analysis. This approach therefore has many potential downstream applications such as economic analysis, demand forecasting etc.⁴⁹ We can also use this for predictive analysis. Will inter-cultural differences remain strong? Will intra-cultural differences be smoothened out over a period in time? Will time annihilate cultural differences? Such questions may be eventually addressed if the process of law-building is assiduously adhered to. Though Applied Anthropology was pioneered by Daniel G. Brinton, Allan Holmberg, Northcote Thomas and others in various situations and scenarios, our proposals can give the field a substantial leg-up and shot in the arm by permitting greater precision and accuracy.

DPPF Techniques for better predictive analysis and modeling: We had discussed the use of DPPF Techniques or Dialogue between past, present and future techniques in an earlier paper. This is possible because the Cultural Anthropologist, in addition to his own unique tools, techniques and methodologies, often has the entire map of human history at his disposal and can even integrate it with pre-history and proto-history. For, example, the American war of Independence towards the end of the Eighteenth Century was an example of rebellion against colonialism. Similar revolutions have included the French Revolution and the Russian revolution. An analysis had shown that similar conditions led to all three revolutions, these being the loss of prestige of the established authority, harsh economic conditions, growing disparity of wealth, and alienation of people from the rulers. Such tools can permit him to offer advice in specific contexts and situations while keeping in mind context-specific conditions. These techniques can further revolutionize Applied Anthropology which began to emerge as a distinct subject in its own right after the Second World War, and can assist in the formulation of “High road” approaches. (Hackenberg, 1997)

2. As a guide to activists: where, when, what, how

We have discussed the importance of activism in a previous paper, and have also examined why activism is necessary to speed up the process of socio-cultural change. We have also discussed some methods available at an Anthropologists disposal to bring about socio-cultural change. This approach can serve as a heuristic tool and guide the Anthropologist on where to focus his efforts at what time and by how much. Ideally, the Anthropologist needs to focus his attention on major influencing cultures and wayward cultures for a maximum return on time and money. Cultures that can be more readily accessed and those that are amenable to change must also be targeted for intensive focus, as this approach alone will result in maximal return on investment.

3. As a tool for theorization and ideation

This approach can be used as a tool for theorization and the formulation of general laws that can be used for any study across cultures. For example, religious beliefs may not change quickly in most if not all cultures. Changes to food habits too may change slowly, but faster than religious beliefs. We

⁴⁹ Holland, Dorothy and Naomi Quinn (1987) *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

have referred to this as ‘Universals of Cultural change’, ‘Near-universals of Cultural change’ and may recommend some kind of a ‘Change taxonomy’ as well. In order to do this, we follow a truly inductive approach, moving from the specific to the general and documenting exceptions to nearly universal rules. Thus, this approach is defined as an aggregation of micro-level studies.

Assessor: Date: Culture: Subculture:				
S.No	Component	Sub-component	Patterns of Cultural integration and patterns of Cultural change	Possible generalized laws
1	Music	Traditional Music		
2	Music	Non-traditional Music		
3	Cuisine	Traditional cuisine		
		Peripheral cuisine		
4	Religion	Religious institutions		
		Spiritual practices		
		Myths and legends		

4. As a tool for corporate decision-making

This approach can be used for corporate decision making in conjunction with other decision-making techniques. The Social Anthropologist can provide the organization with valuable advice on the nature and direction of globalization and its potential implications for the company, and brief them on the attendant risks. The Anthropologist may also highlight social issues and risks and steps being taken to remediate them. The Anthropologist can help vet marketing plans and forecasts in the light of specialized information, and can also help prepare culture-specific plans. He can also help advice on the likely demand for the company’s products on the basis of social and other data. These approaches are likely to provide an incremental benefit in decision-making over standard forecasting models, and even techniques that are already in use within the field of Cultural Anthropology. Cultural anthropology has traditionally brought intensive-field studies and a strong social-orientation to the table to add value to corporate decision-making. Newer techniques such as those proposed in this paper and the newly-placed emphasis on specificity, generalization and rule-building, can take these efforts several notches and rungs higher, and towards their logical conclusion of bullet-proof reliability, seamless replicability and accuracy.

5. As a tool for economists to develop context-specific economic development models

This can be used as a tool for economists to develop context-specific economic development models on the basis of a study of mind-orientation and thought worlds. Thus, culture-specific mores and norms can be used to interface various formalist and substantive models for greater welfare and economic growth, adding new meaning to Developmental Anthropology or Anthropology in Development. This will help avoid the perils and pitfalls associated with one-size-fits-all approaches. Similarly, dimensional analysis can help identify outliers and laggards for quick remedial action. Thus, aid can be targeted towards individuals or groups that are more in need of it, rather than those that are more accessible or enjoy more clout. Our dimension-level approaches provide data at an enhanced level of granularity when compared to raw economic data which are culture-neutral and consider means or averages. This approach can also help investigate the reasons for the non-adoption of new cultural elements and potential measures to overcome them. Thus, this approach can help lead to better economic welfare and faster economic growth. This is something only a Cultural Anthropologist is amply geared to co-ordinate and orchestrate. More specialized fields of study may also eventually emerge from interfaces with other Anthropological sciences. For example, the linguistic competence of a group of people may be assessed with regard to the strength of the language vis-à-vis other dominant languages to propose suitable course-corrections to the education system or formulate developmental models that take linguistic competencies and limitations of cultural groups into account and analysing them in the larger context of dominance and non-dominance of languages.

6. As a tool for Government departments and planning agencies

This approach can also serve as a tool to Government departments and planning agencies to help in economic planning activities by identifying outliers and laggards and performing a root cause analysis. This can serve as a catalyst for short-term, medium-term and long-term projects like road-building initiatives, educational reform and infrastructure projects as well, and can be effectively combined with other decision-making techniques.

7. As a guide for donor and international agencies

This approach can also furnish an invaluable heuristic guide to donor and international agencies to help them choose projects that can provide the maximum return on investment. This approach can also help identify a list of disenfranchised people for example, or people badly in need of developmental stimulus. It can also provide a valuable guide with regards to development-conducive or change-unfriendly attitudes and belief-systems among different peoples in different geographical communities. It can also identify if people of a particular community want change or not by providing a unique and a people-centric approach and perspective. Thus, a Cultural Anthropologist can promote polyphony and multivocality as opposed to cultural-insensitivity and context-indifferent points of view, thereby enhancing program efficacy and audience satisfaction.

8. As a guide for Social workers

There has always been an interface between Cultural Anthropologists and social workers. Even though most Social workers are not trained in Anthropology, they need to understand not only social problems, but also cultural issues and the interface of a given culture with society at large. Thus, Cultural Anthropologists can provide general and specific inputs to different types of Social workers including general workers and specialized workers such as Public Health workers. The tools and techniques proposed here can naturally take their endeavours to a higher level.

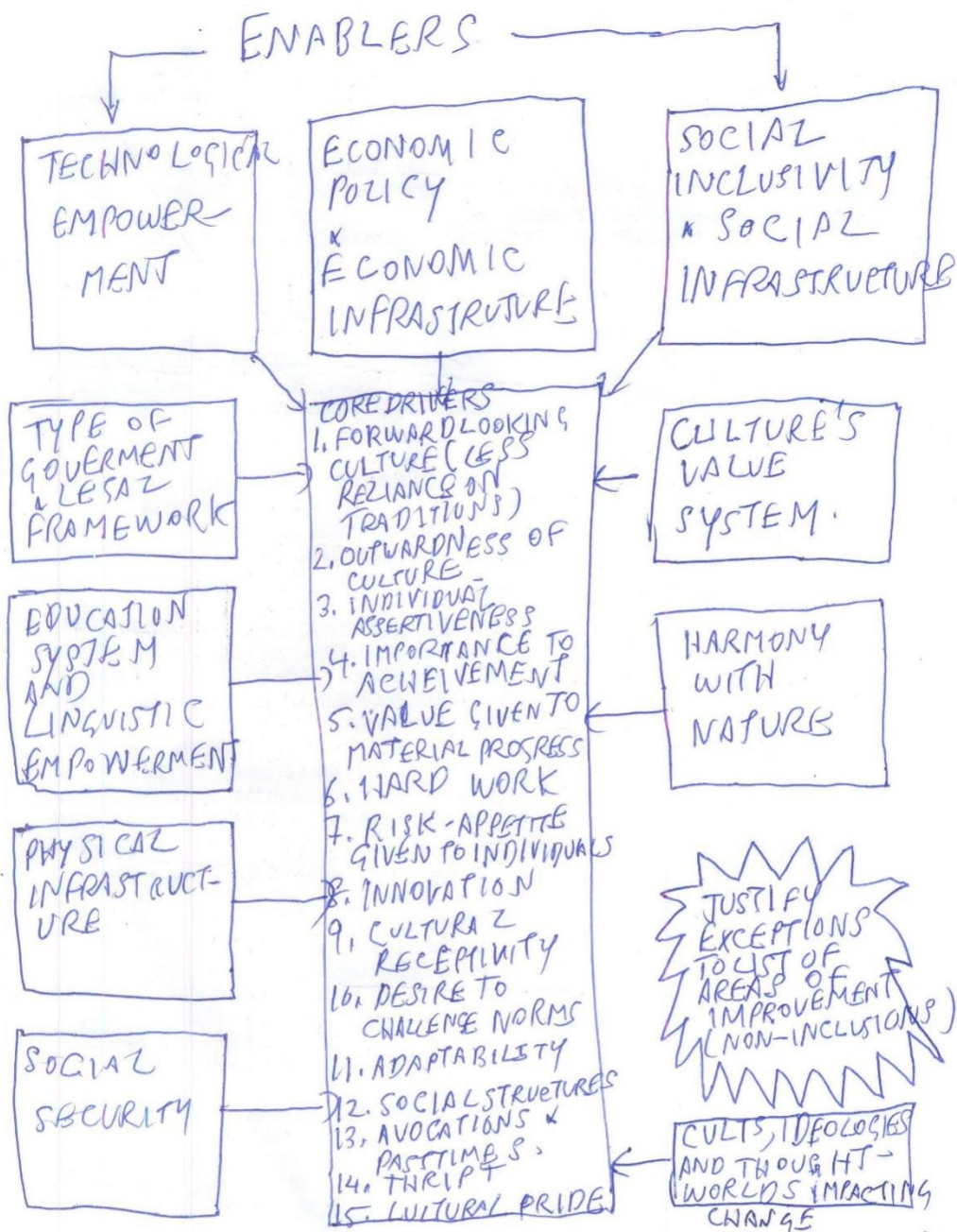
9. Better interface between Cultural Anthropology and psychology

Psychologists have traditionally investigated a wide range of topics such as personality development and behaviour. Social psychology has also investigated man's behaviour in relation to his environment and this branch of psychology is more closely related to Cultural Anthropology than other branches of psychology. Cultural Anthropologists have been interested in several aspects of psychology as well, even though they have largely tended to keep personality structures as constant and investigate variations in social structure. This exercise attempts to remediate the flaws associated with such an approach and provide a more seamless integration between the two, without in any way stepping outside the traditional dominions and comfort zone of a Cultural Anthropologist. Thus, the multi-dimensional approach presented here can be of some value to the psychologist.

10. Research on the ethics of activism

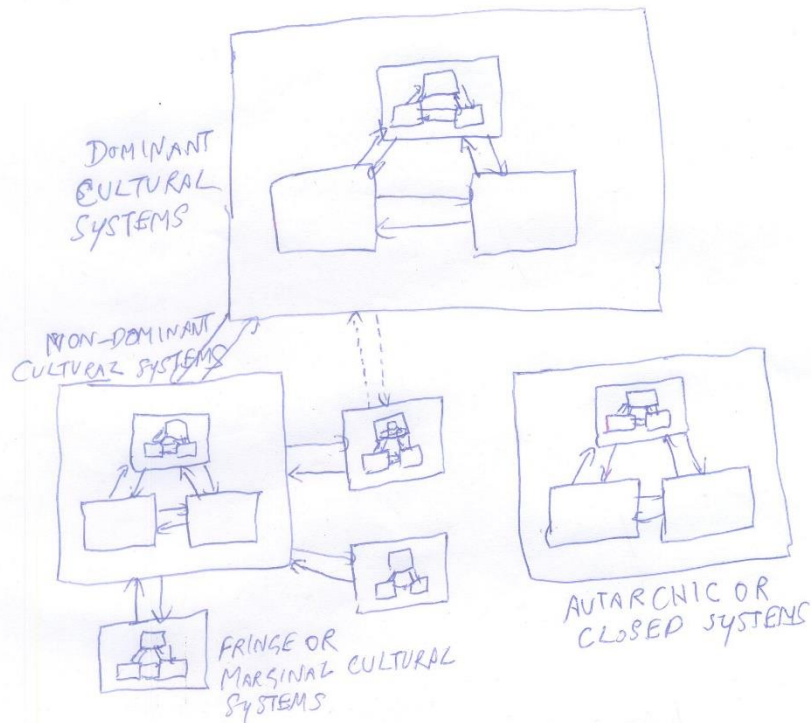
We have discussed the benefits of activism in great detail in a previous paper. We have also discussed the potential risks and dangers associated with activism. This approach can be used as a stepping-stone for research on the ethics of activism from an emic and a stakeholder perspective as it gives the Anthropologist an opportunity to interact with people on the field and take into consideration their points of view. Activism can take on myriad forms which were discussed in brief in a previous paper. Subtle and less time-consuming approaches may be used as a starting point before efforts are scaled up suitably. An interesting approach may be that of Action Anthropology which is a technique that combines research and activism. This approach was first popularized by Sol Tax, who was an American Anthropologist. This approach can be successfully used as a feeler and a precursor to more forceful and explicit change-inducing measures and techniques, and in addition to mere empirical observation or hypothesis formulation and building.

Other uses and potential applications may readily suggest themselves in different contexts and situations with the passage of time thereby greatly contributing to the general value and utility of a Cultural Anthropologist, but few will deny that the endeavours listed above strongly fall within the realms and jurisdiction of a Cultural Anthropologist and present him with a strong and a very unique value proposition and irrefutable case. With a strong focus on cross-cultural studies, inter-disciplinary approaches and a view of cultures across time and space, few if any will ever perhaps ever be able to deny that these are activities that almost no one else is well-gearred or poised to do.



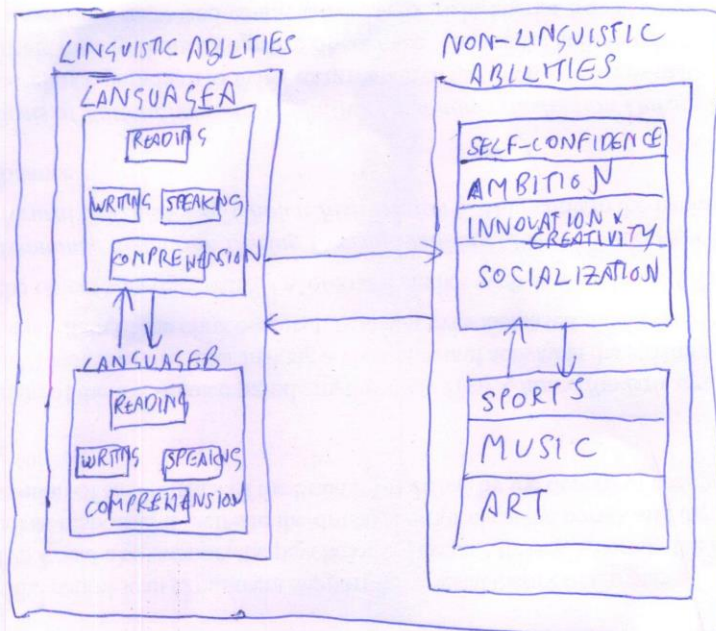
This diagram depicts the Enablers and the Core Drivers of Socio-cultural change.

The global socio-cultural landscape would be determined by the process of symbiosis depicted below



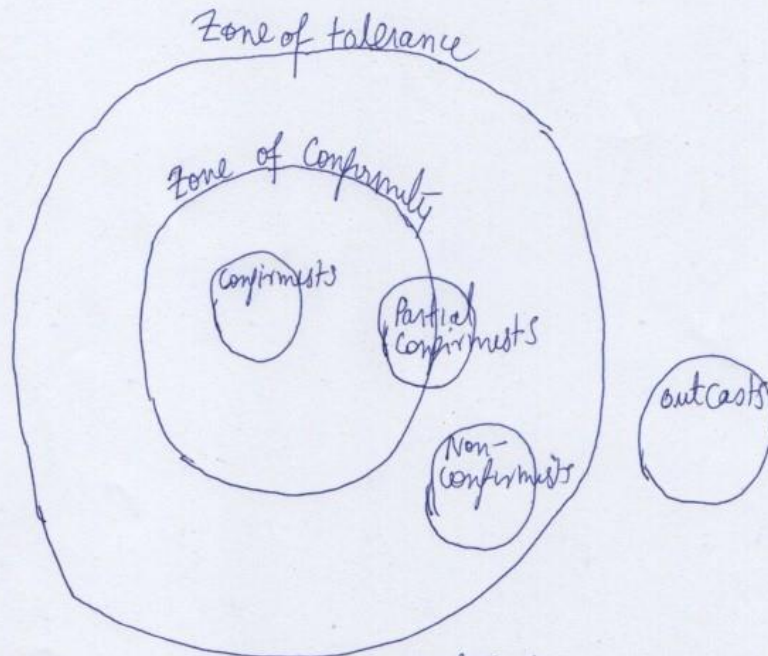
We propose categorizing cultural systems into four types viz (a) Dominant cultural systems (b) Non-Dominant cultural systems (c) Fringe or marginal cultural systems (d) Autarchic or closed cultural systems. Cultural systems may have several sub-systems, and sub-systems may have several sub-sub-systems. These may then have elements, attributes and then traits. The success of any analysis would hinge on arriving at a fine and an optimal level of granularity. Changes can be either (a) internally-generated or externally-induced.

A visual depiction of the concept of Mindspace

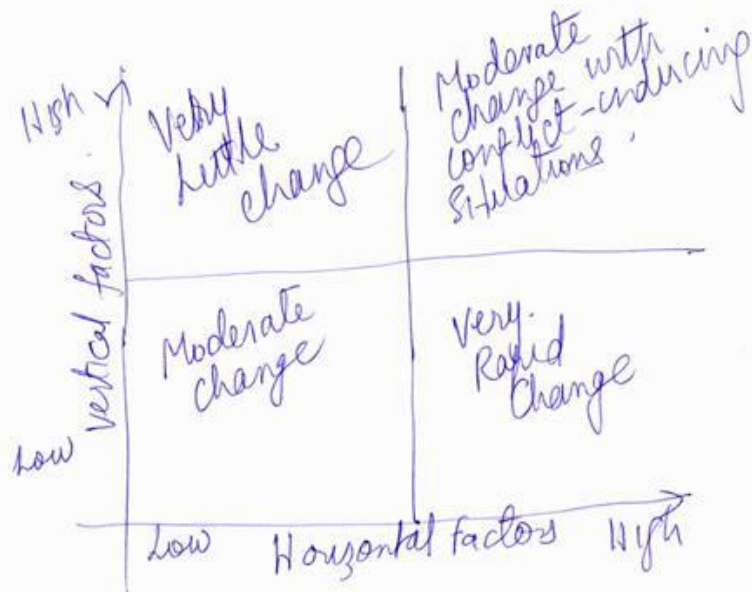


The above diagram aptly demonstrates how the concept of 'Mindspace' can be used to trace shifts in individual skills and abilities and trigger, short-term medium-term and long-term cultural change, often paradigm shifts. Changes can be induced through technological changes, social changes, education and other proactive measures.

A visual depiction of the concept of Mindspace from another perspective



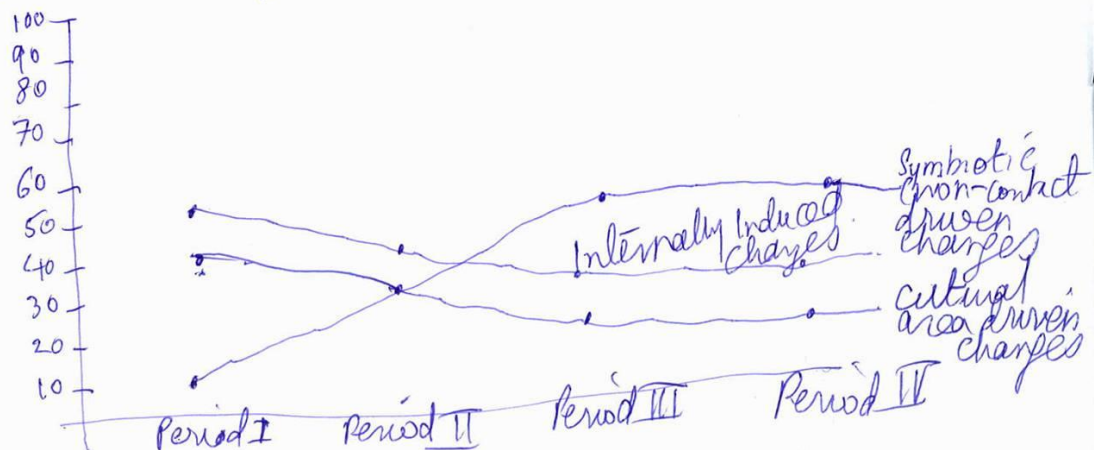
The theory of Mind-orientation:
We define two zones here - the zone of conformity and the zone of tolerance. Based on this, individuals are classified either into conformists, non-conformists, partial conformists or outcasts. At the same time, societies' values and mores also keep changing, often triggered by changes in values and the mind-orientation of individuals. At times, societal values hold individuals back often. The relationship between the two is extremely interesting and worth exploring.

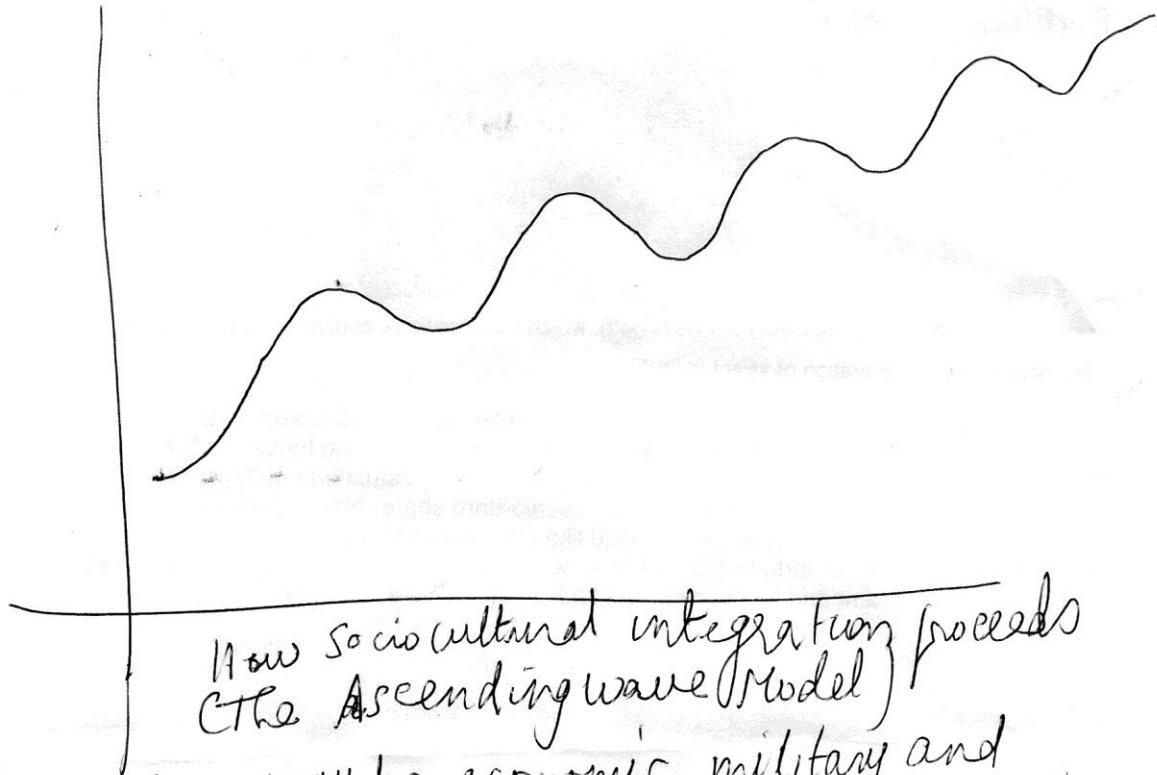


Change-causing inducing and change-inhibiting factors may be classified into vertical and horizontal factors. Although this may appear to be simplistic, this approach works very well in reality, and in our view is a very potent tool in the hands of the social and cultural anthropologists. Vertical factors may be change-inhibiting in a majority of cases, but this need not always be the case; vertical factors can be change-friendly. Horizontal factors are usually change-inducing. The patterns of intersection between the two would determine the direction and quantum of change. This model is at the heart of the symbiotic approach to socio cultural change.

	Period I	Period II	Period III	Period IV
Internally induced changes	50	40	30	30
Cultural-area driven changes	40	30	20	20
Symbiotic changes (non-contact based)	10	30	50	50
	100	100	100	100

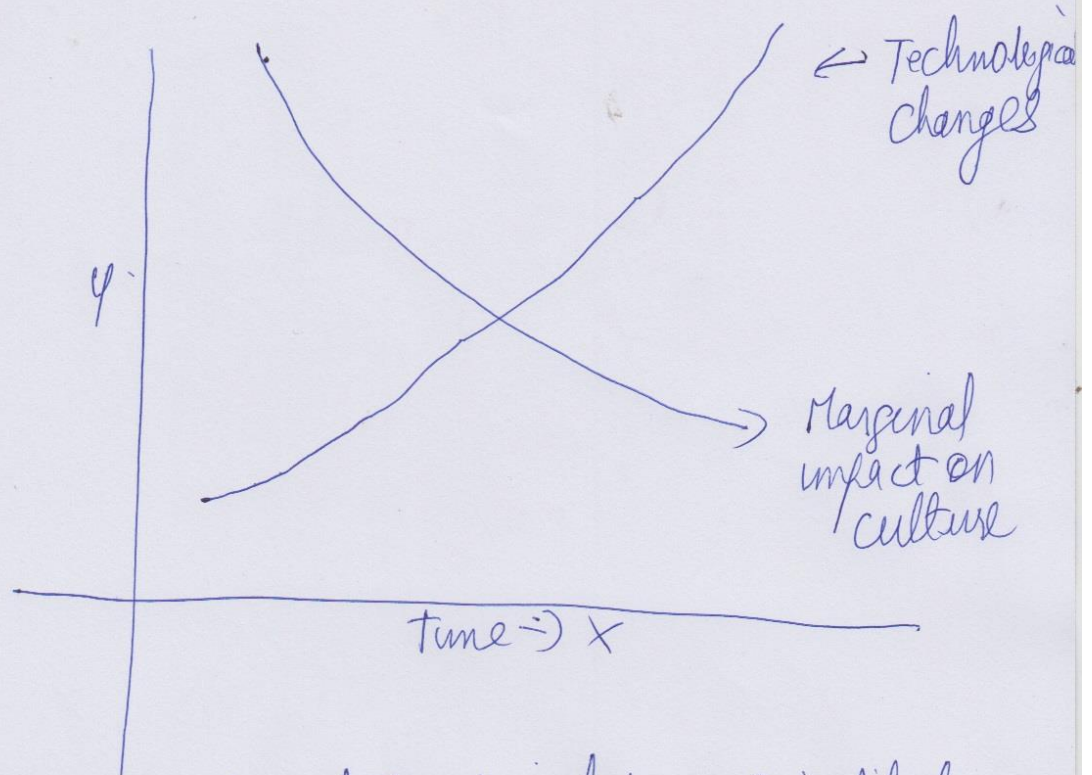
Hypothetical Depiction of the factors constituting Sociocultural Change. Non-contact drivers Symbiotic changes would acquire a greater role to play though their rate of increase would gradually taper off. These changes are on account of technological and changes and globalization. They cannot however substitute internal and cultural-area driven changes completely.



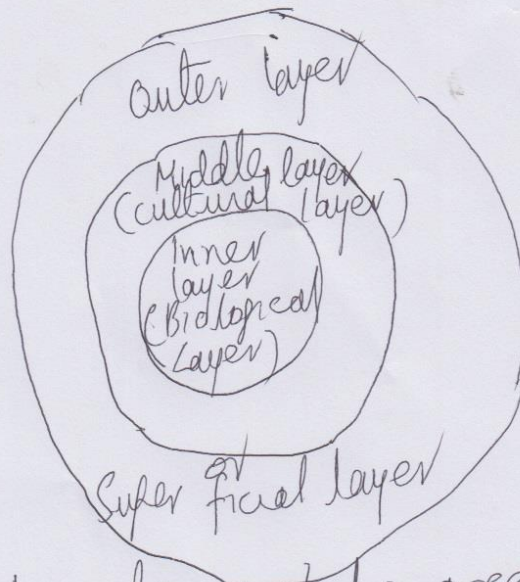


How sociocultural integration proceeds (The Ascending wave Model)

There may be economic, military and cultural reactions and backlashes against increasing cultural, social and economic integration resulting in temporary lulls and periods of disintegration but the forces favouring integration including technological forces will override other forces in the long term. The process of integration will however not proceed beyond a point, and will then taper off. In other words, while new technologies may manifest themselves continuously or at an increasing pace, the incremental impact of sociocultural integration (or the tempo of change) will wane.



The rate of technological progress is likely to increase with the passage of time due to increase in synergies and the creation of technology enabling and technology-facilitating environments throughout the world. However, the marginal impact of newer technologies on culture is also likely to decrease over time necessitating the augmentation of proactive efforts. This makes activism even more necessary in the Twenty-first century and beyond.



Thought words must be assessed using a three-level approach. The inner layer is the biological layer which is culture neutral. This has an impact on the middle layer in some cases as explained. The middle layer is the cultural layer, and thought words operate at this layer necessitating specific techniques to identify them. The outer layer is the superficial layer as most individuals and groups put up an outwardly appearance which is a merge.